

Journal
OF THE
Architectural, Archæological,
AND
Historic Society

For the County and the City of Chester,
and North Wales



New Series—Vol. XXIV., Part I.

Printed and Published for the Society

By G. R. GRIFFITH LIMITED, BRIDGE STREET, CHESTER

1921

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Seal of the Chester Grey Friars.
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Journal

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Chester and North Wales Archæological & Historic Society



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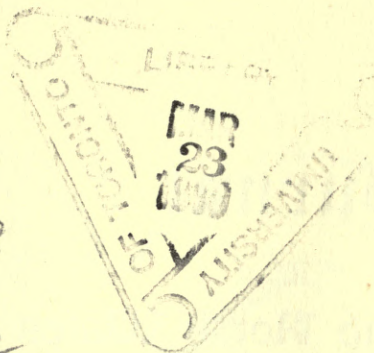
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The Grey Friars of Chester.

By J. H. E. BENNETT.

(Read Nov. 16th, Dec. 14th, 1920, and Mar. 15th, 1921).

PREFATORY NOTE.

It has been the aim of the author to make these notes on the Grey Friars of Chester as complete as is possible, although it was recognized from the start that, at best, they could only indicate the outline of an eventful history. In the course of the work many points arose which needed elucidation at the hands of authorities on mediæval history, and it is both a duty and a pleasure to acknowledge the kindness with which requests for advice and assistance were met. To Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson, M.A., F.S.A., who not only perused the manuscript, but also supplied many valued hints and notes, the author is under deep obligation. The notes signed A.H.T. are from Mr. Thompson's pen. The author's thanks are, further, extended to Mr. R. Stewart-Brown, M.A., F.S.A., and to Mr. J. Brownhill, M.A., for much useful advice and information ; to Mr. J. A. Herbert (Department of Manuscripts, British Museum), to whom the Seal of the Friary was submitted ; to Mr. W. M. Simpson, of Liverpool, who supplied particulars which made clear the later ownership of the site ; to Mr. Arthur Jones and Messrs. J. E. and G. Mayers (the architects and contractors for the Race Company's stables), for facilities afforded to view the excavations ; and, finally, to the author's old friends, Mr. T. A. Williams, and Mr. P. H. Lawson, A.R.I.B.A., to whom he is so frequently indebted, not only on account of their skill with the pencil and generous use of it on his behalf, but in many other ways.

1.—INTRODUCTION.



N "A Perambulation of the Walls of Chester," written about the year 1706, the writer thus describes the view, as seen from the southern side of the Water Gate. "Had we lived a brace of centuries ago, we should have met with one of the finest prospects in or about the city: for on the left hand, almost adjoining to the Walls, you would have seen the Black Friars, Grey Friars," and he then mentions other establishments which "are so altered, or altogether in ruins, that one could scarce imagine there were any such places."¹ Time has now completed the demolition of these buildings, and little remains in Chester to remind the present generation that for three hundred years colonies of the Black, Grey and White Friars were settled in the city, and played no insignificant part in its life. If one or two fragments of crumbling stone walls (which may or may not have formed part of the boundaries of the friaries) are excepted, practically all that is left above ground lies in the names of bye streets, Black Friars, Grey Friars, White Friars. Even these do not bear investigation. In two out of the three instances they are misnomers, inasmuch as the present thoroughfares do not occupy the sites of the ancient Black Friars Lane and Grey Friars Lane, so known when the houses of the mendicant brothers were in existence. Indeed they are not in their immediate vicinity.

The high ideals and rapid growth of the Friars in the early years of their foundation, and the subsequent gradual failure of their influence, afford a most interesting study, and when, as in the case of Chester, a city has been a seat of three of the orders, some wonder may be felt that the history of the establishments has not received more attention. A writer has, indeed, truthfully observed that "there is perhaps a greater paucity of information respecting the ancient friaries in Chester, than concerning any other subject connected with our ancient city,

¹ Hemingway's *History of Chester*, i., 359.

“ of so recent a date.”² The chief reason for this apparent neglect is to be found in the scanty records left behind by the brothers themselves. But, in spite of this, if it is not possible to construct a more or less complete local history of the various orders, much information respecting them can be gathered and, at least, an outline of their story compiled.

In the case of the Black Friars, such an account has already been written,³ but, as regards the other two orders, no history has hitherto been printed, although the syllabus of the Chester Archæological Society for 1891-2 mentions a promised paper on the *History of the Chester Friaries, White, Black and Grey*. So far as can be gathered, this paper, if prepared, was neither read nor printed, and all that is generally known is gleaned from brief references in local histories and other works of an antiquarian character.

2.—ST. FRANCIS AND HIS ORDER.

The Order of Grey Friars was founded by St. Francis, the son of a merchant of Assisi, where he was born towards the close of the twelfth century. His education was scanty, and, as a young man, his appetite for amusement was more than usually keen, but, even then, his charity to the poor was conspicuous. At the age of twenty Francis is said to have passed through a spiritual crisis, with the result that he decided to devote himself to solitude, prayer, and service to the sick and poor, a resolution for which he was disinherited. Francis shortly afterwards began to preach, and he was joined by disciples who, like him, first disposed of their possessions.

The brothers lived in huts formed of the branches of trees, and wandered in pairs about the country, sleeping in the porches of churches or barns or under hedgerows, and mixing with and preaching to the poor, the leper, and the outcast. By their original conception the brothers were to possess nothing beyond what was absolutely necessary for

² Hemingway, *op. cit.*, i., 359.

³ Palmer's *Black Friars of Chester* (Reliquary, xxiii).

life. They were to live by work and only to beg as a last resort. They were to make no provision for the morrow, lay by no store, accumulate no capital, possess no land, handle no money. Their clothes were to be of the poorest and their dwellings of the meanest. On the other hand, they were bound only to the fasts observed by pious Christians, and might eat what was set in front of them.

The followers of St. Francis were first instituted into an Order in 1209 or 1210 by Pope Innocent III. This pontiff only took the step after considerable hesitation, as he was justifiably doubtful whether the experiment, for such it was, would have a permanently beneficial effect. The brethren were then known as the "Penitents of Assisi," and later as members of the Seraphic Order, Franciscans, Friars Minors or Minorites (as they claimed to be the youngest and humblest of the religious orders), and, in England, as Grey Friars from the colour of the habit they wore, which, now, however, is brown rather than grey. From their habitual cheerfulness they had earned the title of "Joculatores" or "Jongleurs of God."⁴ As will be seen, the original conception was altogether distinct from that of the monastic Benedictines or Canons Regular; it was, in fact, a confraternity rather than an order.

It may be well at this point to recall for a moment the great need of a section of the community, in the early thirteenth century, for spiritual and other services which were not provided by the regular clergy. At this time the poorer inhabitants of the towns were in a lamentable condition. Largely composed of serfs driven from the country by feudal oppression, and suffered to settle on the outskirts of the towns, they dragged out a wretched existence amid the most unhealthy and repulsive surroundings. Neglected alike by the monks and the secular priests (whose lives caused St. Bernard to exclaim "It is no longer true "that the priests are as bad as the people, for the priests "are worse than the people"⁵) it is little wonder that,

⁴ *Enc. Brit.*, Art. *Franciscans*.

⁵ *Monumenta Franciscana*, (Rolls Series), vol. i., p. xiii.

when St. Francis and his followers appealed to these unfortunate slum-dwellers, they so eagerly responded.

As a consequence of the religious upheaval thus brought about, large numbers, from the abbot and noble to the veriest vagabond, joined the new order, resulting in such an extension of the field of work that, about the year 1217, missions had spread to Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, and the Holy Land, and, as the original scheme became unworkable, the Friars Minors were constituted an Order in the technical sense of the word.

The Order came to England in 1224, that is, within fifteen years of the foundation, and immediately established headquarters in London, Canterbury and Oxford. By the middle of the century there were fifty friaries and over 1200 friars in this country. At the time of the Dissolution the number of houses had increased to sixty-six,⁶ a few of which belonged to the strict section of the Observants, while the remainder, in which number the Chester house was included, belonged to the "middle party," who were allowed to possess property and a fixed income like other monastic bodies. The Order generally, however, appear to have practised great poverty, and the Commissioners of Henry VIII. often remark that the Franciscan friary was the poorest of the religious establishments of a town. The English province claims to have been one of the most remarkable of the order, especially in literary achievements, and to have produced Friar Bacon, and, with the single exception of St. Bonaventure, all the greatest doctors of the Franciscan theological school, including Alexander Hales, Duns Scotus, and Occam.⁷

The Order was, in a large measure, recruited from the poor, and has always been by far the largest of the religious brotherhoods. Their internal history has been of an extremely stormy character, but a local historian, with justice, remarks of the Chester house that "it is highly honourable to this body that the Friars Minor are not

⁶ For a list see *The Catholic Dictionary*, and *English Monastic Life* by F. A. Gasquet.

⁷ *Enc. Brit.*, Art. *Franciscans*.

“ presented ” in the records “ as having taken any part in “ the riotous and disorderly proceedings which so disgraced “ the members of the other two orders.”⁸

3.—FOUNDATION OF THE CHESTER FRIARY.

In a work devoted to the records of the English Grey Friars it is stated that no chartularies or registers of their houses have been preserved, if indeed they ever existed.⁹ This is generally, if not altogether,¹⁰ correct, as even the possession of parchment and writing materials was forbidden by St. Francis, who, with his earliest converts, was definitely opposed to learning, except in so far as it qualified them for the duties of the preacher and the missionary. In view of this, and the fact that poverty and meditation were given pre-eminence, it is not surprising that, unlike the monks, the Order did not possess historians, and that its progress can only be sketched by means of stray references to be found in public and private collections of manuscripts.

The date of the foundation of the Chester Friary has been assigned by historians to different periods. Speed places it in the reign of King John, but, as a later authority points out, that monarch was dead at the time the Order came to England.¹¹ The same later authority hazards a guess, based on Speed's statement, that the Chester convent had been built for some other religious body, perhaps aliens deported by Henry V., and that it was subsequently bestowed upon the Franciscans. Bishop Tanner, on the other hand, ventures an opinion that the house might be as ancient as the time of Henry III.,¹² and, as will be seen, this is correct.

Matthew Paris relates that in A.D. 1235 the Black and the Grey Friars had increased and prospered so considerably

⁸ Morris, *Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods*, 145.

⁹ *Mon. Franc.*, vol. i., p. lxi.

¹⁰ See the *Register of the Friars Minors of London* (Cotton Library) printed in *Monumenta Franciscana*, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Parkinson, in *Collec. Anglo-Minoritica*, (1726), part II., 36, VI.

¹² *Notitia Monastica* (Original and Nasmyth's editions) Cheshire VII., Chester 10.

that they had become remarkable for their buildings, their large membership, and their many teachers (*literatorum*), as well as for their learning and preaching and monasteries of renown.¹³ About this date the Chester friary was founded by the labours of Friar Albert of Pisa, then Provincial Minister, and afterwards Minister General of the Order.¹⁴ Thomas de Eccleston in *The Coming of the Friars Minors* states that the settlement was only effected with great difficulty, and it is the subject of a letter written by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, to Alexander de Stavensby,¹⁵ bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (in which diocese Chester then was).

It is clear that Stavensby had been unfavourable to the settlement of the Grey Friars in Chester, and that he had been the means of creating a strong feeling in the city against the Order, ostensibly on the ground that the settlement was injurious to the interests of the Black Friars already there.¹⁶ Probably the agitation was started by the Black Friars themselves, but the fact that a mendicant order could be successful in inducing the bishop of the diocese to fight for them is worthy of note. The new comers also had a powerful friend in the bishop of Lincoln, a man of exceptional attainments, who, in A.D. 1224, had been their first lector at Oxford, and to whose instruction so much of their power of speaking and teaching was attributed. Grosseteste, it is said, had been archdeacon of Chester.¹⁷ He was a man of humble origin, and this, doubtless, increased his influence over the Grey Friars, for whom he retained affection to his death.

¹³ (Rolls Series) ii., 384.

¹⁴ *Mon. Franc., op. cit.*, i., 54.

¹⁵ Dugdale states that the Franciscan friary at Lichfield was founded by Alexander Gavensby [?Stavensby] (*Monast.*, vi., 1503).

¹⁶ *Letters of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln* (Rolls Series), p. 120.

¹⁷ Ormerod's *History of Cheshire* (Helsby ed.), i., 114. But Canon Perry, in his *Student's English Church History*, i., 325, states that at the time of his election he was archdeacon of Leicester.

The letter, which is in Latin, and undated, is as follows :—¹⁸

“ Venerabili in Christo fratri et amico carissimo Alexandro Dei gratia Coventriæ et Lichfeldiæ Episcopo,
 “ Robertus, miseratione divina Lincolniensis ecclesiæ
 “ minister humilis, salutem et sincerum in Domino
 “ fraternæ dilectionis affectum.

“ Religionis sanctitas, religiosæque personæ, quam sint venerandæ atque ad imitandum proponendæ, multo melius quam nos vestræ novit fraternitatis discretio. Docuit enim vos efficacius tam religiosorum assidua familiaritas quam in vobismet ipsis sanctæ religionis jugiter experta veritas. Unde credibile non est, tantum sanctæ religionis amatorem, operisque factorem religiosi, religiosarum personarum existimationem religionisque earum honestatem in aliquo velle apud quosdam minuere.¹⁹ Audivimus tamen a fide dignis, quod vos coram populo Cestriæ quibusdamque magnatibus quosdam de Fratribus Minoribus ita contumeliis affecistis, quod tam eorundem²⁰ personæ quam ordinis status in audientium odium in contemptum non immerito possent adduci, causamque hujus rei audivimus fuisse, quod ipsi Fratres Minores in civitate Cestriæ simul cum Fratribus Predicatoribus vellent cohabitare. Quod incredibile, si verum est, non ex anima vestri deliberatione, sed ex ejusdem aliqua subita commotione credimus processisse. Scit enim vestra discretio, quam utilis est populo, cum quo habitant, Fratrum Minorum præsentia et cohabitatio; cum tam verbo prædicationis quam exemplo sanctæ cælestisque conversationis et devotione jugis orationis continue et indefesse portent pacem et patriam illuminent, suppleantque in hac parte, pro magna parte defectum prælatorum. Si autem forte timuistis ad horam, quod Fratrum Minorum apud Cestriam præsentia Fratribus Prædicatoribus ibidem²¹ degentibus^{21a} obesset, quasi utrisque²² non foret sufficiens ad victum civium populique eleemosyna; advertat diligentius vestra discretio, quam vana fuerit hujus timoris sollicitudo,²³ cum experientia compertum sit, quod utrorumque fratrum in eadem civitate cohabitatio neutris vergat in egestatem sed utrisque in abundantiam. Eleemosyna

¹⁸ *Letters of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln*, (Rolls Series), 120.

¹⁹ “ quosquam minuere,” *C.C.C.*; “ quosquam imminuere,” *Ox.*

²⁰ “ eorum,” *Sid.*

²¹ “ ibi,” *C.C.C.*

^{21a} ? sedentibus

²² “ ultrisque,” *sic* in printed transcript.

²³ “ surreptio,” *C.C.C.*

enim²⁴ est sicut fons vivus qui tanto copiosius fundit aquas, quanto uberius hauriuntur. 'Hæc est lecythus olei, qui non minuitur' (3 Reg. xvii., 14, 4 Reg. iv., 7), et oleum per Elysæum multiplicatum, quo viduæ filii liberantur. Nec mirum cum Ei in suis membris egenti tribuatur, qui simplicitatem materiæ multiplicavit in mundi molem et grani parvitatem multiplicavit in arboris magnitudinem, qui panes paucos multiplicavit in plurium milium satietatem, qui per se dives est et largus, plurium et majorum beneficiorum retributor quam sit acceptor. Cum igitur eleemosynarum largitio sit facultatum largientium copiosa multiplicatio, quomodo timeri potest quod accipientium eleemosynas augmentatio sit ipsis egestatis occasio quin imo sperari debet ex hoc majoris plenitudinis susceptio quia igitur dictorum Fratrum Minorum conversatio est²⁵ populi cum quo habitant ad agnoscendam²⁶ veritatem illuminatio, et ad currendum in viam pacis directio, tractus, stimulatio, et propulsio, defectuumque prælatorum sub quibus habitant non modica suppletio, aliisque pauperibus non egestatis, sed abundantie occasio; non²⁷ potest verus amator boni ex animi deliberatione tantum bonum repellere, sed magis totis conatibus attrahere. Cum igitur in vobis semper abundaverit et abundet veri boni fervidus amor; speramus quod perhibita deliberatione, dictos fratres non solum non repellat vestræ sanctitatis discretio, sed desideranter sibi adsciscet in adiutorium, et²⁸ quantumcumque fieri poterit per civitates vestræ diœcesis multiplicabit, vano timore sublato, quod eorum multitudo sit aliis egestatis occasio."

A more or less free translation of this letter is given below :—

To our reverend brother in Christ and well beloved friend Alexander, by the grace of God, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Robert, by divine mercy humble minister of the Church of Lincoln, greeting etc.

Your discernment, my brother, recognizes far better than ours how much the sanctity of life under religious vows is to be revered and held up for imitation. For you have learned as much from constant association with religious men as from your own acquaintance with the truth of holy religion. Wherefore it is not credible that such a lover of our sacred faith and an author of religious work should

²⁴ omitted, *Sid.*

²⁵ omitted, *Ox.*

²⁶ "cognoscendam," *C.C.C., Ox.*

²⁷ "nec," *C.C.C., Sid.*

²⁸ omitted, *C.C.C., Ox.*

wish to belittle the reputation of religious people and the good fame of their profession in any degree. We have nevertheless heard, on good authority, that, in the presence of the people of Chester and certain dignitaries, you have so treated with insults some of the Friars Minors that their persons and the standing of their order cannot but be, undeservedly, brought into odium with those who heard you, and we understand that the reason of this is that the Friars Minors wish to dwell in the city of Chester in addition to the Friars Preachers. Which thing, incredible if it is true, we believe must have arisen not out of your reasoned judgment but from a sudden impulse. For a man of your discernment knows well how profitable the presence and cohabitation of the Friars Minors is to the people with whom they dwell, since, as well by preaching as by the example of sanctified and celestial life, and by devotion to unceasing prayer, they may be the means of bringing peace and enlightenment to their country, and supply in this respect, to a great degree, the defect of the higher order of ecclesiastics. If, however, by any chance, for the moment, you feared that the presence of the Friars Minors at Chester might become a source of injury to the Friars Preachers already dwelling there, just as though the alms of the citizens and other people would not be sufficient for the livelihood of both; your discernment must recognize very well how vain should be anxiety on this account, since experience has proved that the dwelling together of both orders of brothers in the same city has tended to the poverty of neither but rather to the abundance of each. For the practice of almsgiving resembles a living fountain which pours forth its waters more liberally the more plentifully they are drawn. It is the cruse of oil that does not fail (3 Kings, xvii. 14; 4 Kings, iv. 7), and the oil multiplied by Elisha, by which the sons of the widow were delivered. Nor is this wonderful, since it is given to Him, who is needy in His members, who has multiplied the simple element into the mass of a world, and the minute seed into the grandeur of a tree; who has increased a few loaves of bread to the satiety of many thousands, who is Himself rich and generous, and who is the bestower of many more and greater benefits than those of which He is the recipient.

Since therefore the gift of alms may be the means of a plentiful increase of the power of the givers, how is it possible to fear that an increase of persons who receive alms may be a cause of want to them, and not rather a beginning of a time of greater plenty; inasmuch as the life of the said Friars Minors is an enlightening power to assist their neighbours to

know the Truth, and an influence guiding them to run in the way of peace, a persuasive agent, a help, and a constraining force, and a, by no means small, supply of the deficiencies of the prelates under whom they live, and to other poor men a cause not of dearth but of abundance; (in consideration of which) the true lover of good cannot, on full deliberation, oppose so great a boon, but must rather welcome it to the utmost of his ability.

Since, therefore, vehement love of the true good has always abounded and doth abound in you, we hope that, after consideration, the wise discernment of your sanctity may not oppose the aforesaid brothers, but that it may eagerly adopt them as far as possible in the cities of your diocese; the needless fear having been removed that their number may be a cause of want to others.

Whether this appeal was successful in bringing about a cessation of the hostility to the settlement of the Grey Friars in Chester does not appear, but it may be inferred from the following order of the King that his intervention had to be obtained before the brotherhood were able to establish themselves permanently in the city, although, by this date, they had no doubt secured a considerable following and support.

" Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, etc., to his ' Custodes ' of the county of Chester, greeting : know that we are well pleased that the Friars Minors should build a house of their order in the town of Chester, and therefore we command you to help them in building it. Witness our hands at Westminster, this sixth day of February " [1240].²⁹

Up to this time the Order had no common home in Chester, and they may be imagined as living from day to day on alms bestowed by the charitable, sleeping in whatever quarters offered, and travelling about with wallets slung from their shoulders, receptacles to which, as Chaucer graphically relates, few things came amiss.

It has been suggested that earl Randle Blundeville, who gave the friars at Coventry the ground upon which they erected a church, made a similar gift to the orders which settled in Chester,³⁰ but this cannot have been the case, so

²⁹ Close Roll 50 (*vide Calendar*).

³⁰ Morris, *op. cit.*, 142.

far as the Grey Friars are concerned, as the earl died in 1232, a few years before they came to Chester.

The Grey Friars are said to have been in the habit of building their houses in the poorest quarters of a town and on the least valuable ground, and they settled in Chester on a piece of land, in Holy Trinity parish, left vacant by the great fire of A.D. 1180.³¹ The site, although close to the busy Watergate Street, was in a poor and wasted quarter of the town, and accordingly met the usual conditions. Here the brothers set about building premises, including a church, which they dedicated in honour of their founder, St. Francis.³²

In A.D. 1245 and the next year the work was still in progress, as evidenced by three grants of the King. On 11 Sep. 1245 Henry agreed to the removal of a certain lane, which the friars complained was very harmful to them and their buildings, provided that his compliance with their petition would not be injurious to the city. He accordingly ordered Robert de Mucegros, together with the mayor and twelve discreet citizens, to view the spot.³³

On the same date, Henry gave the friars permission to take as much stone from the fosse of his Castle of Chester as they required to construct their new buildings, and he ordered his Constable to allow this to be done.³³

The third grant is dated in the following spring, when the King ordered his justiciar, John de Grey, to allow the brethren to pierce the Wall of the city for the purpose of drawing in stone and wood for the construction of their church and houses.³⁴

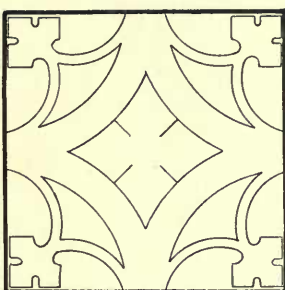
Although contrary to the rules of the Order, it appears clear that the friary was constructed of stone, and it may reasonably be assumed that the buildings were sufficiently advanced, in a comparatively short time, to become the local home and headquarters of the brothers.

³¹ Morris, *op. cit.*, 142.

³² Parkinson, *op. cit.*, part II., 36.

³³ Close Roll (*vide Calendar*).

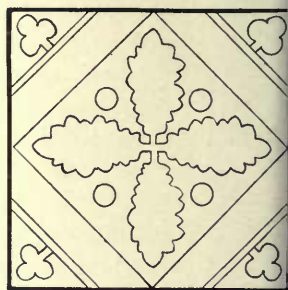
³⁴ Close Roll (*vide Calendar*).



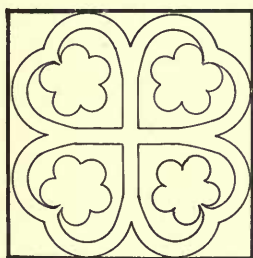
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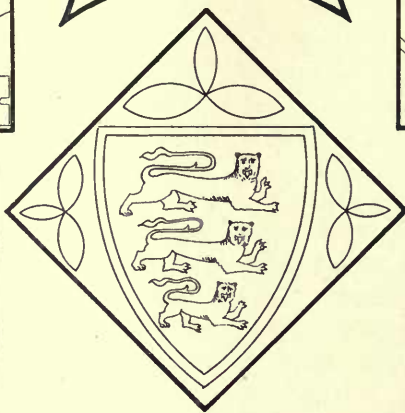
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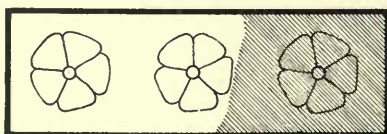
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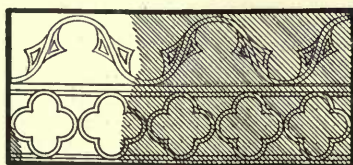
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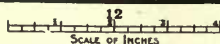
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Complete tiles and restored fragments found at various times on site of Friary.

4.—HISTORY OF THE FRIARY.

From the middle of the thirteenth century until near its close there is no information respecting the Franciscan Friary at Chester, which, with eight others, was included in the custody of Worcester.³⁵

On 1 Sep. 22 Ed. I. [1294] a writ was despatched from Worcester to Reginald de Grey, justiciar of Chester, commanding him to hold an enquiry respecting a sum of money which, it was alleged, had been wrongfully seized by the king's clerk. An inquest was held at Chester about three weeks later, on the Tuesday in the Feast of St. Matthew, the following being jurors—William the Tailor, Robert the Chamberlain, Jordan de Bradeford, Reginald de Don, William the Forester, David the Armorer, Roger de Moldeworth, Richard de Baruuue, Richard son of David . . . , William de Troghford, etc. It was then found that, on the second day of the Feast of St. Agnes, 1293, John de Baruuue, chaplain, was taken ill at Great Baruuue, and there, on that day, before Hugh the reeve of Baruuue, Thomas the son of William Forester, Richard the son of Adam the reeve, and Ralph de Baruuue, chaplain, he gave to the Friars Minors of Chester all the money which he had on deposit in the house of the said friars, to provide a chaplain to celebrate for the salvation of his soul for ever, and to assist the said friars to discharge their debts and supply their necessities. The grantor appointed the aforesaid Ralph de Baruuue his proctor to distribute the money to the uses detailed above, and committed to him its possession, and a chest in which it was deposited. And

³⁵ The other houses were Worcester, Coventry, Lichfield, Stafford, Preston, Shrewsbury, Llanfaes, and Bridgnorth. From the earliest times the Franciscan convents were grouped into custodies, each under a custodian who held office for a term of years, and whose functions were those of a local provincial minister and permanent visitor. The custodians of each province elected one of their number to represent them at the general chapter, and, it is probable, that all custodians were entitled to attend the provincial chapter. In each custody one convent had to be assigned for the training of novices, and candidates for degrees at the Universities were chosen from friars who had lectured at these schools. (*The Administrative Divisions of the Mendicant Orders in England*, by A. G. Little, *English Historical Review*, xxxiv.).

so the money remained in the custody of Ralph de Baruuē until the Sunday after the Octave of St. John the Baptist, 22 Ed. I., when Master Gilbert de Arderne, the king's clerk, caused the money found in the chest to be seized, and afterwards despatched it to the Exchequer at Westminster. It was clearly shewn that the benefactor had given the money to the friars absolutely, insomuch that it should remain with them whether he lived or died.³⁶

Accordingly, on 14 Oct. in the same year, the King, at Westminster, ordered his Treasurer and Chamberlains to cause to be delivered to the Friars Minors of Chester the sum of £33 10s. 0d. that the king's clerk, lately appointed to arrest money deposited in the town of Chester and elsewhere in that county, had caused to be arrested in their house, as the king had learnt by inquisition taken by his justiciar of Chester, that John de Baruuē, chaplain, had given and assigned the money to the friars (long before it had been seized by his officer) to provide a chaplain to celebrate divine service there for his soul and to acquit the friars' debts.³⁷

The reason for the seizure of money in Chester at this time may have been the serious Welsh insurrection under Madoc ap Llewelyn which was imminent, if it had not already broken out.

A gift to the Friars is mentioned in the following abstract of a deed ; undated, but of this period.

Hamo de Mascy, Ralph de Vernun, Jo de Orreby, Hugh de Dutton, Richard de Mascy, William Gerard, William Launcelyn and Roger Domuill undertook for themselves and their heirs to hold in trust for the abbot of Chester without waste £20 which the said Abbot undertook to pay to the Friars Preachers and Minors of Chester according to the will of John de Arnewey at the undermentioned terms, viz., in the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, in the 21st year of King Edward's reign [1292-3] ten marks, and in the feast of St. Martin next following ten marks, and in the same feast of St. Martin in the succeeding year ten marks until the whole sum should be discharged.³⁸

³⁶ P.R.O., Chancery Inq. Misc., file 54 (42).

³⁷ P.R.O., Close Roll 111, m. 3. (*vide Cal.*).

³⁸ B.M. Harl. MS., 2072, f. 42b.

From the time the house was founded gifts would be continuously bestowed upon it, but little record of them remains save in the few extant wills of mediæval date. One early legacy is mentioned in the will of Thomas de Macclesfield, in 1301,³⁹ namely, "to the Friars Minors of Chester 40 shillings . . . The said legacies to the friars may be easily raised out of my goods and debts at Overton and English Maelor. And further I will that every friar minor and preacher shall have 20s. for his pittance when, in the Chapter General of England, my letters which I hold from their fraternities are shewn and my soul commended with masses and prayers." These "letters of confraternity," as they were called, or certificates, were sold by the Minorites and other friars and entitled a deceased person to the prayers of the brethren. It is asserted that bundles of these documents were shamelessly carried about and sold to any willing to find the purchase money, the name of the purchaser being filled in at the time. In two instances, however, the only ones noticed by the editor of the second volume of *Monumenta Franciscana*, they were evidently specially written on behalf of the individuals named.⁴⁰

The unsettled period culminating in the execution of "the gentle Mortimer," the enforced retirement of the widow of Edward II., and the assumption of the reins of government by the young king, presumably dictated the policy of a petition from the Chester Franciscans to that monarch. The document is undated, but the handwriting is of the time of the third Edward, and the subject is clearly connected with the two ensuing records of 1331, although to address the king as "founder" either of the friary or city, while no doubt intended to please, seems a gross exaggeration of facts.

"To his . . . the King pray the poor chaplains the friars minors of Chester that he will be pleased, for their protection, to take their house in the said town, of which he is founder, into his hands, and also grant them letters patent

³⁹ *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills* (L. & C. Rec. Soc., xxx.), 1.

⁴⁰ Vol. ii., p. xxxi.

to make hand mills in their dwelling house and to grind corn and malt for their sustenance there or at other mills at their pleasure without hindrance by his ministers."⁴¹

On 14 Mar., 1331, the king, by privy seal, granted the latter part of the petition—a much valued concession in view of the then restrictions on grinding corn at other than the privileged mills. The following is an abstract of the grant :—

Edward, etc., to all his bailiffs and faithful servants to whom etc. : Know ye that of our especial grace we have granted (so far as in us lies), to our beloved in Christ, the warden and brothers of the Minors of our city of Chester, licence to make new hand mills within their manse, and to grind, at the said mills or other mills within or without the said city, corn and malt for the sustenance of the said brothers and convent without hurt or hindrance from us or our heirs or our bailiffs and ministers or any other. Witness our hand at Otteford, 14 Mar. etc.⁴²

Four days later the King issued letters patent, at Eltham, granting the desired protection.⁴³ At the same time he took the Grey Friars of Ipswich under his protection.⁴³

In the following year the Chester Friars wished to enlarge their dwelling house, and, on 20 Oct. 1332, letters patent were issued at York containing a licence for the alienation *in mortmain* by William de Brikhull, citizen of Chester,⁴⁴ and Cicely his wife, to the Prioress and Nuns of Chester, of a plot of land, 82 feet long by 72 feet broad, in exchange for a plot 103 feet long by 32 feet broad adjoining the dwelling house of the Friars Minors of Chester, and of the latter plot to the Warden and Friars Minors for the enlargement of their said dwelling house.⁴⁵

By letters dated at Chester Castle, 10 Sep. 1353, the lord, *i.e.*, the Prince of Wales, as Earl of Chester, granted £6 13s. 4d. to the Friars Minors as alms, out of the issues of

⁴¹ P.R.O., Ancient Petitions, file 194.

⁴² P.R.O., Pat. Roll 175 (m. 22) (*vide Cal.*).

⁴³ P.R.O., Pat. Roll 175 (m. 31) (*vide Cal.*).

⁴⁴ Probably the mayor of Chester in 1329-31. He was also known as William Clerk, son of Peter de Brickhull.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., Pat. Roll 180 (*vide Cal.*). This land is not mentioned in *Notes on the History of St. Mary's Nunnery, Chester* (Chester Arch. Soc., N.S. xiii.), 67 *et seq.* A few further particulars are given in P.R.O., *Inq. quod damnum* 223, No. 1., and the accompanying warrant.

the session of William de Sharesull and his fellow justices, etc., at Chester.⁴⁶

Six years later the accounts for the county of Chester shew fifty shillings as having been paid on the authority of the lord's letters, dated 11 Jul. 1360, to the bailiff of the Hundred of Northwich, for "a book called a Bible" which had been carried away from the house of the Friars Minors of Chester without their licence, and which had come into the hands of the said bailiff as "wayf." The Chamberlain was instructed to deliver the book to the brethren as a gift and alms.⁴⁷

In the same year permission was sought for a further enlargement of the house, indicated by the following extract from *Camerarius Cestrie* (P.R.O. Augm. Vol. 279).

Edward etc. to our well beloved John Blound mayor and escheator of our city of Chester, greeting. We order you to ascertain if it would be any injury etc. if we permitted Robert de Huxelee, parson of the church of Tatenhale, to grant to the warden and convent of the order of freres menoures of Chester for the enlargement of their house a messuage with appurtenances which the said Robert purchased of Robert Harald, in unconditional and perpetual alms. Dated 11 July, in the 34th year of our reign.

In 1361 Randle Whytlof, of Macclesfield, bequeathed two shillings to the Friars Minors of Chester.⁴⁸

In 1366 another legacy, this time of thirty shillings and three pence, occurs in the will of Roger de Swetenham, of Somerford Booths.⁴⁹

In 1384, Thomas del Fere, citizen of Chester, left three shillings and four pence to each Order of Friars in Chester.⁴⁹

Nicholas d'Audley, lord of Rouge Chastell (Red Castle, co. Salop), and Helegh (co. Staff), by his will dated at his castle of Helegh, in 1391 bequeathed money to the Friars of Chester.⁵⁰

The three Chester friaries and the one at Warrington were remembered in the will of Sir Lawrence Dutton,

⁴⁶ *Cheshire Chamberlains' Accounts* (L. & C. Rec. Soc., lix.), 216.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 274.

⁴⁸ *Lanca. & Ches. Wills, op. cit.*, 7.

⁴⁹ Harl. MS. 2061.

⁵⁰ *Cal. of Wills at Court of Husting, London*, 294, 295.

which is dated 1392. The clause is as follows:—" I leave
" to the four Orders of religious brethren of Chester and
" Warrington, to each of their convents twenty shillings."⁵¹

The friars have been accused of exercising undue influence at deathbeds, as evidenced by the frequency with which they appear in wills as beneficiaries. On the other hand, it is claimed that their attention to the sick and dying was devoted, and in confirmation of this it is related that on account of this unselfish service the friars throughout Europe perished in thousands during the ravages of the " Black Death " in the fourteenth century.⁵²

The next reference to the Chester Grey Friars occurs under date 30 June, 1392, when Richard II., from Nottingham, pardoned John Banastre and John Wystanston, friars minors of Chester, who had been indicted because they, with others of their " covin " and assent, had abstracted and carried away from the house of one Thomas de Moston, deceased, approver of the King's Mills of Dee, gold and silver goods and chattels to the value of one hundred pounds, and had concealed them. Moston had died much indebted in respect of his office to the king, and it is evident that the friars, fearing lest the demands of the monarch should swallow up legacies left to them or their community, took steps which they trusted would prevent such a contingency. The culprits had, however, been convicted and committed to prison, until they should pay as much as the said Thomas owed to the king, of the said sum. Richard, in addition to pardoning the friars, graciously yielded claim of all that pertained to him on account of the indictment and judgment, provided that no one else, by virtue of the pardon, was discharged of the debt.⁵³

In 1399 the ill-fated Richard went to meet his successful rival, Henry Bolingbroke, at Flint, clothed in the garb of a grey friar, and it has been asserted that the Order was,

⁵¹ Ormerod (2nd ed.), i., 349, quoting Tabley MSS., C. 159. Hemingway, *op. cit.* ii., 147, erroneously gives the testator's name as " Robert."

⁵² *Mon. Franc.*, *op. cit.*, ii., xxxiv.

⁵³ P.R.O.. Pat. Roll 335 (*vide Cal.*).

without exception, devoted to the cause of the deposed monarch, and afterwards to the Yorkist party.⁵⁴ The sentiment is illustrated by the support afforded by the Franciscans to the insurrection of Owen Glendower, which resulted in the sack of their priory at Llanfaes, in Anglesey, by Henry, the slaughter of some of the friars, and the institution of adherents of his own in their place.⁵⁵ There is no doubt that the order had been particularly favoured by the later Plantagenet kings ; the patent rolls recording no less than 112 grants made to them between the time of their arrival in England and the deposition of Richard II., whereas only three grants were made during the reign of Henry IV.⁵⁶

The new king was greatly troubled in 1402 by the assiduity with which the Friars Minors spread the report that Richard had not died in Pontefract, but was alive and in Scotland, and for this he caused several of the friars to be hanged.⁵⁷ There is, however, no evidence that the Grey Friars of Chester suffered on account of allegiance to Richard, and, in any case, the following petition, made a few years later, and its sequel, denote that the house was not in disfavour, although the grant may have been dictated by the conciliatory policy of Henry.

“Petition of the Warden and Convent of the Friars Minors of Chester.

May it please our most excellent lord the prince of his particular grace to his poor mendicant bedesmen and chaplains, William Seggesley,⁵⁸ warden of the Friars Minors of Chester, and the Convent of the same, to permit William Tewkesbury, chaplain, to grant to Roger [le] Potter, mayor of the city of Chester, and his successors for ever [in trust for the said warden and convent and their successors] an annual rent of ten shillings issuing out of three messuages which the said William Tewkesbury holds of the gift and feoffment of John [le] Chamberlein [a citizen] of Chester [now deceased],

⁵⁴ *Mon. Franc.*, *op. cit.*, ii., xxxv.

⁵⁵ *Cheshire Sheaf* (1st S.), iii., 251.

⁵⁶ *Mon. Franc.*, *op. cit.*, ii., xxxvi.

⁵⁷ *Mon. Franc.*, *op. cit.*, ii., xxxvii.

⁵⁸ This name appears to be Seggesley and not Leggesley as given in the *Calendar*.

two of which are situated in the Baxterrowe⁵⁹ in Estgatestrete in the said city, one between the land of Henry Russell and the land of Richard [le] Bruyn on one side and the land of John Stokes of Rothelan and the land late of Agnes de Werthynton on the other side and in length from the land of the aforesaid John [le] Chamberlein as far as the churchyard of Seint Werbur of Chester. And the other messuage lying in the aforesaid Baxterrowe, in width between the land of the aforesaid John [le] Chamberlein on one side and the land of John Harrysone [Henrysone] le Bruyn and the land of Otes de Worthynton on the other side, and in length from the land of Robert Coly as far as the bakehouse which Thomas Sole [Soule] baxter now holds. And the third messuage lying in Bruggestrete of the said city in width between the high street called Bruggestrete on one side and the way which extends to the gate called Capelyate⁶⁰ on the other side, and in length from the aforesaid highway as far as the wall of the gate of the aforesaid Bruggestrete. The said rent of ten shillings to be payable each year at the four terms of the year usual in the said city. So that if the rent of ten shillings shall be in arrear in part or altogether it shall be lawful for the said mayor and his successors, to enter into the messuages or parcel of them to distrain and retain sufficient to cover the said rent and any arrears, on behalf of the said warden and convent. On condition that the said Warden and Convent and their successors in perpetuity perform two obits in the church of the Friars Minors of Chester, to wit, one on the Feast of Seint Katherine the Virgin with dirige and nine lessons with note and on the morrow a solemn mass of requiem with note, or within two days of the said feast before or after, and the other obit in similar form on the Feast of Seint Margaret the Virgin, for the souls of the aforesaid John

⁵⁹ On the north side of Eastgate Street. This property was in the neighbourhood of Godstall Lane.

⁶⁰ This, as the name implies, was the Horse Gate, by which animals were taken down to the river for water. It is mentioned in an inquisition of 1320/1 (Dues taken at City Gates, Morris 557). In 1349/50 Robert de Raby held the custody of this ("porta Equorum") as well as of the adjoining Bridge and Ship Gates (Orm. 2 ed., ii., 547). Dr. Bridge (in his *Cheshire Proverbs*, p. 85) remarks that "it must be remembered that there was no large water supply in the city and that a constant stream of horses being taken to the Dee to be watered would interfere with the traffic of the . . . Bridge Gate." The animals were therefore conducted to the special gate by way of Capel Lane. The gate was at the water level a few yards to the east side of the Bridge Gate, and is shewn in three views of the south aspect of Chester, reproduced in Morris' history, i.e., Braun's map 1572-1618 (juxta 528), Randle Holme's sketch (Harl. MS. 2073) (229), and Edw. Wright's (juxta 512).

[1e] Chamberlein and Agnes his wife parents of Robert [1e] Chamberlein son and heir of the said John, and for the souls of that same Robert [1e] Chamberlein and his heirs after their death. And, if it should happen that the said Warden and Convent or their successors should be distrained or impleaded by the aforesaid Robert or his heirs or any other in their name, in connection with a certain annual rent of five shillings which the said Robert hitherto claimed as issuing out of lands [and tenements now belonging to the said brothers] which had belonged to Robert de Macclesfield and which rent Robert [1e] Chamberlein had released to the said warden and convent and their successors for ever on condition that the said warden and convent and their successors perform the said obits and masses in manner as is aforesaid, that then the annual rent of ten shillings should be confirmed.⁶¹ Petitioners ask this for God's sake and as a work of charity.'⁶²

It will be noticed that in accordance with the usual practice of the Franciscans the rent was to be granted to the mayor in trust. This was, of course, to comply with the rule of the Order prohibiting the acquisition of property.

The above petition is not dated, but warrants to hold inquisitions *ad quod damnum* were issued by the prince ; one to Roger Potter, the mayor, who was also his escheator, dated 7 May in the fourth year of the king's reign, and the other to "lonn^rable pere en dieu" John, bishop of St. Asaph, chamberlain of Chester, dated at Salop, 13 May, in the fourth year of his sovereignty, instructing his officers to ascertain whether the granting of the petition would be prejudicial to any of the interests of the earldom or other property. The finding was that no such risk arose, and on 8 July letters patent, dated at Chester, were issued by Henry, firstborn son of the illustrious king of England and France, prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine, Lancaster and Cornwall, earl of Chester, who, of his special grace to his "beloved in Christ, William Seggesley warden of the "Friars Minors of our City of Chester and the Convent of "the same place" granting their petition with freedom from molestation.⁶²

⁶¹ This seems to infer a security for the 5s. rent by giving a right to 10s. if the former should be disputed.

⁶² P.R.O., Ches. Recog. Roll 2.76.

Commencing with the fifteenth century, more wills are to be found, and from this time until the Dissolution records of bequests to the friars are of frequent occurrence. Thus, in 1408, Robert Schot left two shillings and sixpence to the Friars Minors of Chester,⁶³ and, in 1413, John Coly bequeathed a torch and a candle of wax, half of his cloak of green worsted to make a chasuble and ten shillings to celebrate four trentals and a mass "*cum nota cum exequiis mortuorum*" for his soul.⁶⁴ John Dedwode also left six shillings and eight pence.⁶⁵ Richard Fyton, 20 Feb. 1436/7, left to each order of the friars in Chester 6s. 8d.⁶⁶

Another bequest, about this time, occurs in the will of John Hope, citizen of Chester, dated 1438/9, who left six shillings and eight pence to the Friars Minors to pray for his soul, the souls of his parents, the soul of Rebecca Hope his sister, and the souls of all saints.⁶⁷

On 12 June, 1439, at St. Mary Ottery, an *inspeximus* of the letters patent of 14 Mar., 1331, was issued by the king on the advice of his Council, and the privileges indicated in the former grant to the Friars Minors were ratified, approved and confirmed. The preamble is as follows:—

"The king, etc., to all to whom, etc., greeting. We have inspected the letters patent of the lord Edward late king of England, our ancestor, couched in these words. Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to all his bailiffs and faithful subjects to whom these present letters shall come, greeting."

Then follows the text of the previous grant, and the confirmation.⁶⁸

In the year 1460 the Grey Friars were prominent in support of the Yorkist cause,⁶⁹ but it is to be lamented that by this date the typical friar had lost most if not all of his original simple aims, and that he consorted with the rich, and tendered advice to the King-maker himself.⁷⁰

⁶³ Harl. MS. 2061.

⁶⁴ Morris, *op. cit.*, 350.

⁶⁵ Morris, *op. cit.*, 143.

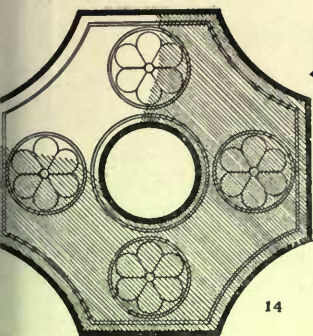
⁶⁶ P.C.C. 21 Luffenham.

⁶⁷ P.C.C. 25 Luffenham.

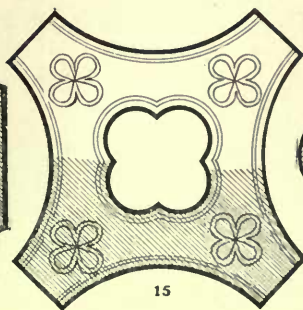
⁶⁸ P.R.O., Pat. Roll 444.

⁶⁹ *Mon. Franc.*, ii., xxxvii.

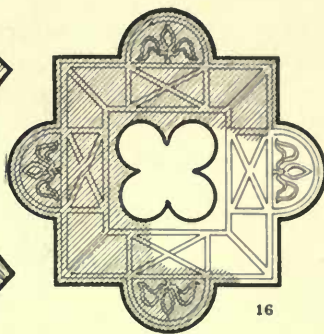
⁷⁰ *Mon. Franc.*, ii., xl.



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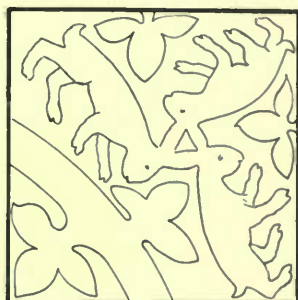
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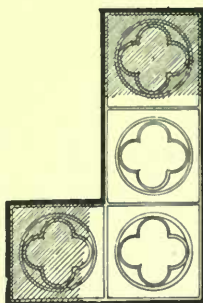
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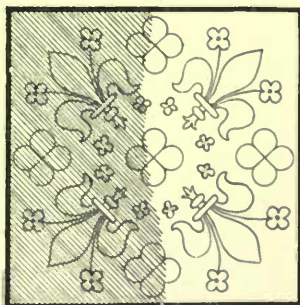
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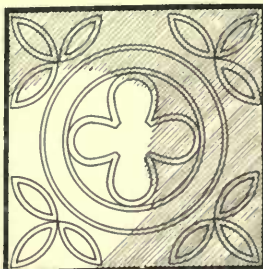
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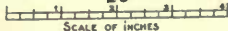
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SCALE OF INCHES



26

Complete tiles and restored fragments found at various times on site of Friary.

J.H.E.B., de

The records of the next fifty years or so include the following testamentary gifts:—

1466-7, Mar. 7. Dame Cecill, of Torbok, lady of Torbock, left to the "grey friars of Chester vjs viijd."⁷¹

1488-9. Richard Cholmondeley, the younger, bequeathed to the "grey freris of Chester vjs viijd."⁷²

1492, Aug. 6. John Croft, by his will dated at Ormskirk, left among other bequests 20s. to Lawrence Browne, of the Friars Minors of Chester "to celebrate for the health of my "soul."⁷³

1494, May 16. John Hankey, of Aldford, left "to each of "the orders of friars of Chester xxd."⁷⁴

1496-7, Feb. 22. Matthew Johnson alias Hewster, citizen of Chester, "in peril of death" left "to the three orders of "friars of the said city iij^s" to be equally divided among them.⁷⁵

1505, May 14. Henry Rayneforde, priest, directed "that "every fryers howse of Chester have one of my . . . [six] "torches if my executors can so accorde with them that have "right and title to the same and redeme them with other "recompenses. Also I will that every howse of the fryers of "the said citie have iij^s iiij^d. And every fryer being a "preest that be at my dirige and masse to have to his propre "vse iiij^d." Testator left the reversion of "my crymsyn "gowne and hoode and furre . . . to make a cope there- "of . . . to the grey fryers so that it be made within a "monthe."⁷⁶

1505, Jul. 23. Ralph Davenport, citizen and alderman of Chester, left two torches "to any of the orders of friars with- "in the said city . . . I leave to any of the orders of "friars within the said city and to every of them ten "shillings to celebrate a trental for the salvation of my soul "immediately after my death."⁷⁷

1508, Feb. 20. William Egerton, of Hampton, gentleman, bequeathed "to the three freers in Chester to praye for my "wif and me and ycheon of theym to say a trentall xxx^s "amonges theym."⁷⁸

1511, Dec. 23. Thomas Roncorne, left "to the three houses "of freres every place vjs viijd."⁷⁹

⁷¹ Harl. MS. 2176, f. 27 etc.

⁷² *L. & C. Wills* (Chetham Soc., 1st S., liv.), 41.

⁷³ *Sheaf* (3rd S.), vi., 85.

⁷⁴ P.C.C. 13 Horne.

⁷⁷ P.C.C. 16 Adeane.

⁷⁵ P.C.C. 35 Horne.

⁷⁸ P.C.C. 3 Fetiplace.

⁷⁶ P.C.C. 14 Adeane.

⁷⁹ P.C.C. 6 Fetiplace.

1514, Apr. 28. Rafe Huxley [? of Tattenhall], left to the "grey freers of Chester xs od."⁸⁰

1518. Aug. 24. Nicholas Deykyn, of Chester, feltcapper, left "to every of the iij orders of freers for iij trentalls of "masses . . ."⁸¹

1519, Apr. 17. William Rogerson, of Chester, alderman, left "to every of iij orders of freris xs."⁸²

1520, Dec. 4. Margaret Hawarden, of Chester, left "to the "repacon of the church of the Grey Freris vjs viij^d and a little "vessell of ledde at the oversight of the warden and myne "executors."⁸³

1527, Aug. 30. Thomas Sparke, doctor of canon law, bequeathed "to the three orders of freris xs, that is to every "howse iij^s iij^d to the repacon of there howses."⁸⁴

1527-8, Mar 23. Elizabeth Hurleston, of Chester, widow, bequeathed "to the graye frers vjs viij^d."⁸⁵

1530, Oct. 20. Thomas Croughton, of Chester, paynter, bequeathed "to sanct ffran[cis] w'thin ye gray freis a taper of "wax."⁸⁶ This will was proved at St. John's before William Wall, the last warden of the Chester Franciscan Friary.

1531, May 17. Ralph Lawton, rector of Bebington, gave "to the iij orders of freris at Chester to be evenly distribute "amonges theyr iij howses iij^{os} for to have theyr praers for "the welth of my soule and all cristen soules."⁸⁷

1535, Dec. 25. Thomas Myddleton, of Chester, alderman, willed "that every order of the friers of Chester have xs."⁸⁸

It will be noticed that during the preceding century little, beyond the records of more or less trivial legacies, has transpired respecting the history of the Friary, and it is more than probable that for the greater part of that period, as in the case of other brotherhoods, the influence and prosperity of the Grey Friars of Chester were on the decline, and that the upkeep of the establishment became more and more difficult. Certain it is that by 1528 the necessities of the house had become so great that the friars had been compelled to grant to the merchants and sailors

⁸⁰ Harl. MS. 2079, f. 161a.

⁸¹ P.C.C. 11. Ayloffe.

⁸² P.C.C. 17 Ayloffe.

⁸³ *L. & C. Wills* (Chet. Soc., 1st S., li.), 7.

⁸⁴ *L. & C. Wills* (Chet. Soc., 1st S., xxxiii.), 17.

⁸⁵ *L. & C. Wills* (Chet. Soc., 1st S., xxxiii.), 36.

⁸⁶ *Cheshire Sheaf* (1st S.), i., 55. Also Chet. Soc. (1st S.), xxxiii., 8.

⁸⁷ *L. & C. Wills* (Chet. Soc., 1st S., li.), 183.

⁸⁸ P.C.C. 32 Hogan.

of Chester the nave and three aisles of their great church for the stowage of sails and other articles. In addition to poverty, this points to negligible congregations. It will be noticed that the friars speak of the grantees as the builders of the premises leased to them. The charter, which is in Latin, and in the possession of the Chester Corporation, bears an impression of the seal of the house in yellow wax, and a translation of it is as follows :—

“ To all the faithful in Christ who shall see or hear this
 “ present writing, we, William, warden of the Friars Minors
 “ of Chester and the convent of the same, send greeting in the
 “ Lord. Know that we, the said warden and convent, have
 “ given, granted, and, by this present writing, confirmed to
 “ the merchants and sailors of the City of Chester the nave
 “ of our church which they have built together with three
 “ aisles of the same church to the uninterrupted use of the
 “ aforesaid merchants and sailors for the stowage of sails and
 “ other necessities connected with the fitting and repairing of
 “ their ships as often as may be necessary as they have hither-
 “ to been accustomed. On condition that the said merchants
 “ and sailors carry out the repairs of the said church and its
 “ aisles at their own cost. In witness whereof, we, the
 “ aforesaid warden and convent, have caused our common seal
 “ to be affixed to this present writing. Given in our chapter
 “ house this thirteenth day of July in the twentieth year of
 “ the reign of Henry the eighth.”²⁹

5.—THE DISSOLUTION.

The commencement of the suppression of native religious houses occurred in A.D 1525, when “ some mean monasteries ” were dissolved on the initiative of Wolsey himself for the purpose of founding two colleges. In 1528 and 1529 other suppressions for similar purposes were carried out, but so far all were broken up with papal approval and on the authority of pontifical bulls. In 1535-6, however, the supremacy of Rome had been thrown off, and an Act was then passed authorising the dissolution of all religious houses with incomes of less than £200, and, in the following year, 1537, the suppression of the remaining monasteries was determined.

²⁹ Charter 32 (*vide* Morris, *op. cit.* 143).

It is not likely that the Franciscan friary at Chester had at any time a large establishment of brothers, and, at the Dissolution, there appear to have been only seven. Parkinson, in his valuable collection of material respecting the Order, states that "the house had the title of St. Francis bestowed upon it, but that it possessed no lands or revenues," that is, of course, beyond the precincts of the convent itself.⁹⁰ It would, consequently, be quickly disposed of by the king's visitor, Dr. Richard Ingworth, suffragan bishop of Dover, and sometime prior of the Black Friars of Rowley Regis, who had been specially appointed by the king to visit the houses of the mendicant orders.

In an undated report made by Ingworth to Thomas Cromwell, the former details a proposed itinerary starting from "Bristol . . . to Schrewisbery, and so to Denbith and to Bangar, and so to Westchester and to Lancaster," etc. He adds that he had had inventories made at all the houses visited and that he had "selyed up their common sealys so that thei shall sell or alienate nomore of their jewellys nor other stuffe, wherfor I am suar that within a yere the more parte shall be fayne to giffe up their howseis for poverty."⁹¹ In another report, dated from Shrewsbury, 13 Aug.,⁹² Ingworth says "I ryde thys day toward Westchester and so into Walys."⁹³

On the 15 Aug., 1538, the "visytor under ye Lord Presydente for the King's Grace, was in Chester whereyt in presens of Master Phoke à Dutton, meyar ther, Roberte Aldersey, Henry Gee, Raffe Rogerson, Raffe Goodeman, Wm. Beswyke, aldermen of ye citie, with Thomas Marten, late schrewe" [sheriff], he entered "all the howseys of freers within ye said cete, wher that the hedys of all ye seyde howseys with all their brederyne gaffe ther howseys with all ye pertenens in to ye seyde vysytor's handds to the Kyng's use, without any co'sell or constreyning but

⁹⁰ *Coll. Angl. Min., op. cit.*

⁹¹ *Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries* (Camden Soc., xxvi.), 202.

⁹² The year is not given.

⁹³ *Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries (op. cit.), 205.*

"very pou'te constreyned them. Thus, ye seyde visytor
 "receyved the howseys and made inventory of eche howse
 "and delyvered them with ye howseys and stuff in to ye
 "meyars hands and his assyngs, and gaffe every freer hys
 "letter to departe, and payd hes owyn charges and so de-
 "parted, thys wyttenes me ye seyde meyar with oder under
 "wrytyn," etc.⁹⁴

The formal surrender of the Chester friaries is endorsed
 "a voluntary resaiacio [resignation] of divers p'or [?poor]
 "houses,"⁹⁵ and the particular document relating to the
 Franciscan house is worded as follows:—

"Md. thys xv day of August In th xxxth yere of kynge
 "henry the viijth whe the wardyn an cōuete [convent] of the
 "graye fryers In West Chester w'tout any coaccyon [compul-
 "sion] or cōsell [counsel] but for very pou'te [poverty] have
 "and doe resyne ow'r howse w't all y't to y't be longe In to ye
 "handds of the lord vysytor to the kyngs vse beseynge
 "[beseeching] hys grace to be goode and gracyous to vs In
 "wytenes to thys byll whe subscrybe ow'r namys w't ow'r pro-
 "per handds the day and yere before wryten

"per me Fratrē Willm Wall

"per me Fratrē John Wynne [or Thomas Wryne]⁹⁶

"per me Rodulph Norres⁹⁶

"per me Jo. Jote⁹⁶

"per me Thomas Trushel⁹⁶

"per me Will'm Dycvuson

"per me Edwarde Goodman "

The brevity of the document and the simplicity of the
 language in which it is drawn up are calculated to waken
 the sympathy of the reader with the unfortunate brethren
 in their dire straits. The unconditional surrender for
 "very poverty" and the humble plea for consideration
 have a very submissive and distressed note, but, it must be
 pointed out, the form employed was usual in the cases where
 establishments bowed to the will of the king. Not un-
 naturally, in this instance as in many others, the friars

⁹⁴ Morris, 149, quoting Chapter house A., 3-11 ff. 7-9.

⁹⁵ P.R.O. Exchequer T.R. Misc. Books, vol. 153, pp. 7-10 (*vide Cal.*).

⁹⁶ Morris, 145 and 150, gives the names of these four friars as
 "John Brynnall or Ihoan Bynnal, Radcliffe Norres or Radlyfe Norees,
 John Rote or Io. Roti, and Thomas Trethil." The signatures are not
 very legible, but the present reading is probably more accurate.

appear to have made an attempt to rescue something of their property out of the general wreck, as indicated by the remark "ther be owte dyvers leasys the whyche the vysytar " wolde nott allowe because ther was craft in them & ware " made off late."⁹⁷

The inventory of the contents of the church and convent⁹⁸ gives an interesting list of furniture, vestments, and household utensils, as well as of a few articles of plate, and mention is made of three leases, doubtless those to which there has already been reference, one of which resulted in a lawsuit between the successors of the friars. The document is headed :—

" The graye fryers of Chest^r d[elivere]d to mastr phoke
" dutton meyar thereto mast' raffe rog'son aldermā & thomas
" marten "

and mentions the Choir, Vestry, Kitchen, Brew House, Buttery, and Bulting House. The articles in these places are given in full later. To the document appended (in the same hand as the text) are the names of the three citizens whose names appear above, and it concludes with these notes :—

" The vysytor hathe a lytyll chaless a lytyll maser and vj
" sponys to ye kyngs vse.

" Dd wt thys Invētory a byll of detts as ye wardeyn sethe—
" xijli viijs xjd and iij leseys."

Of lead, which formed no inconsiderable part of the king's plunder, " the grey freres in Westchester," as well as a number of similar houses, provided but little, as a note in the handwriting of the Earl of Derby records that " only some of them had small gutt's."⁹⁹ Indeed, the inventory which has just been partially quoted is endorsed by the Bishop of Dover as follows :—" Nou led nor rentts but ye gerdens." The following inventory and account also shew that the house did not yield rich booty :—

" The Grey Freres off Chester. This indenture maketh
" mentyon of ye Kynge's house in Chester, late the Grey
" Frers, ys receyved by ye handes of Richarde, Byschope

⁹⁷ Pub. Lib., Bebington. Mayer MS., No. 54 (*vide* Morris, 144).

⁹⁸ P.R.O. S.P. Henry VIII. §133, 255-60 (*vide* Cal.).

⁹⁹ P.R.O. Exchequer T.R. Misc. Books, vol. 153, pp. 4-6 (*vide* Cal.).

" Suffraghan of Douar, and vysytar vnder the Lorde Prevy
 " Seale for the Kynge's grace, and the same delyv'yd in the
 " pynances to Rycharde Howghe gentylma' to save and kepe
 " to the Kynges vse tyll hys graces pleasure be further
 " knowyn.

" The quere an olde ruffe slated.

" The steple a sharpe spyar, lytyll lede, wt ij belles in ytt.

" The churche slated.

" The northe yle ledyde in certen longe spoutes descendynge
 " to a pane of the cloyster lede into gutters of lede.

" The southe yle ledyd, wt a crosse yle on the same syde
 " ledyde, and certen gutters of lede.

" The reste of all the houses slated & styll lefte wt dores,
 " gates & all others as before the vysytars comynge they
 " ware, excepte suche as here dothe followe, the wyche by the
 " vysytar was solde to paye dettes.

" All the stuffe of ye vestre and churche, wt the kytchyn &
 " oder offyces by p'celles preysed and solde for iij^{li} iiij^s viij^d.

" All the pore tables of ye awters in the quere & churche wt
 " the pachemete & glasse, wt the yron in the same quere and
 " churche solde for xlvj^s viij^d.

" For a pore payer of orgeyns iij^s iiij^d.

" For the cellys & pt clossys in the dorter and cellehouse xs.

" The holle summe of the recytes ys vj^{li} iiij^s viij^d.

" For the wyche payde of the dettes xij^{li} viij^s xj^d.

" So ye vysytar hathe payde aboue the receytes vj^{li} iiij^s iij^d.

" And he hathe in syluer to the Kynges vse a lytell chalys,
 " a bonde of a lytyll maser, and vj small spones.

" The evydens reste in the vysytar's handes.

" Ytt ys to be notyd yt therbe owte dyvers leasys the wyche
 " the vysytar wolde nott allowe because ther was crafte in
 " them & ware made off late, and sore shulde be to the dis-
 " comodyte of hym yt shulde have ye house.

" The vysytar's costes xvijs.

" Richard Doveren'."100

Writing from Ludlow, on 23 Aug., 1538, to Cromwell, Ingworth expresses a hope of shortly making a full report, and he gives particulars of a devastating tour of thirteen priories, including the one at Chester, of which he had left but a single house standing. Ingworth trusts Cromwell will be " a good lord for the warrants for such friars as give " up their houses." In another letter of the same date, he

100 Mayer MS. No. 54. The whole of the papers in this Collection referring to the Chester friaries were carefully copied, and amend in some particulars what is printed in Morris, 144, etc.

tells Latimer that he has visited eighteen houses and left but one standing. The houses were in Cheshire, Shropshire, and North Wales, and the visitor remarks at the end of his epistle, "the friars in these parts, where I have been, "have many favourers, and great labour is made for their "continuance. Divers trust to see them set up again and "some have gone up to sue for them."¹⁰¹

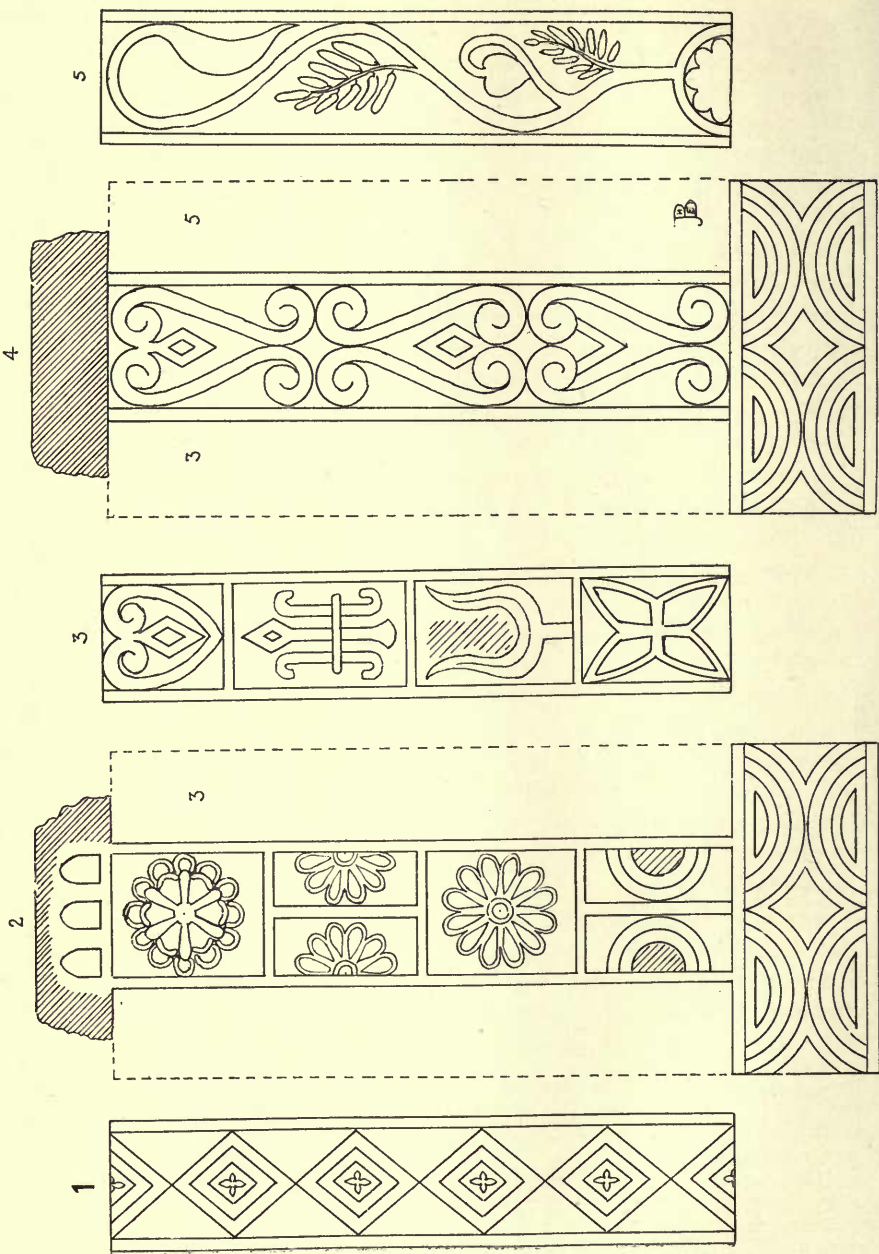
So ends the connection of the Grey Friars with their Chester home.¹⁰² It is true that much reformation was needed in the friaries as in the other religious settlements, but "the destruction of so many hallowed and beautiful "buildings, . . . the secularising of so many sacred "sepulchres, cannot be thought of without regret. The "contents of the houses were sold almost without reserve, "and the sites granted or sold to laymen.¹⁰³ As to the "petition of the brethren to the king to be good and "gracious, this was, in most instances, made in vain." It is said that: "only one or two were granted any pension "for their support. As a rule, a few shillings were delivered to each one on being turned out into the world to "find their own living as best they might." Canon Morris continues: "This was not easy. The bishops were no "lovers of the wandering friars, and the destruction of so "many churches diminished the possibility of obtaining "any cure of souls, even had the bishops been willing to "present them to any."¹⁰⁴ [This statement as to the attitude of the bishops should be somewhat modified. It was true up to a certain point, as the bishops naturally found religious orders exempt from their jurisdiction an embarrassment, especially when they lived a life which brought them into contact with the people of the diocese. At the same time, the orders of friars supplied a considerable number of bishops, especially to the less wealthy sees; and the

¹⁰¹ *Cal. Letters and Papers of Reign of Henry viii.*, vol. xiii., part 2, (1538), pp. 169, 170.

¹⁰² In Harl. MS. 2125, f. 272, there is a note from a Chester Corporation record that in 33 Hen. viii. [1541-2] the Friars Minors are mentioned in an indictment respecting gorse.

¹⁰³ *Vide* Morris, *op. cit.*, 149.

¹⁰⁴ Morris, *op. cit.*, 150.



Designs in relief on fives side of a small octagonal pillar on square base, supposed to have been found within the precincts of the Friary (the remaining sides are not decorated).

suffragan bishops who, with titular sees *in partibus* or with Irish ones which brought in no revenue, did much of the work in English dioceses during the later middle ages, were very often friars. Also, in appointing diocesan penitencers, bishops frequently selected friars—there are many examples of this in the diocese of York.—A.H.T.] At Chester the warden, William Wall, was fortunate, and so, possibly, was the friar John Jote, but the subsequent career of the remainder, if indeed they had any which might be so termed, has yet to be discovered.

A revival of the brotherhoods became possible, and was attempted in 1553 with the accession of Queen Mary, but little national interest attaches to this short-lived effort, and Elizabeth, early in her reign, expelled the Minorites from this country.¹⁰⁵

6.—THE DISPOSAL OF THE SPOIL.

The friars having been evicted and the premises stripped, the empty shell of the "Kynge's house in Chester, "late the Grey Frers . . ." with its appurtenances was delivered "by ye handes of Richarde, Byschope Suffraghan of Dover and Vysytar vnder the Lorde Prevy Scale "for the Kynge's grace to Rycharde Howghe gentylman "to save and kepe to the Kynge's Vse tyll hys graces "pleasure be further known."¹⁰⁶

Hough¹⁰⁷ was a local man and a connection of Thomas Cromwell, and he appears to have secured a lease of the Grey Friars for twenty-one years, as evidenced by the following abstract of a draft or copy of the instrument:—

Indenture whereby the King, by his Court of Augmentations, grants in fee farm to Richard Hough, gent., the site of the house late belonging to the Friars Minors commonly called "les gray freres" within the city of Chester lately dissolved, and all the land and soil of the church and the houses, chambers, buildings, gardens, lands and soil, with the appurtenances within the circuit of the site, and the precincts of the said house, which were late in the hands and occupation of

¹⁰⁵ *Mon. Franc.*, *op. cit.*, ii., xlii.

¹⁰⁶ Mayer MS., No. 54 (*vide* Morris, 144).

¹⁰⁷ *Vide* account of him later.

the warden, seneschals, governors and convent of the said house, and all the houses, etc., of the said friars in the several tenures of Ralph Rogerson, Ralph Wryne, gent., Thomas Martyn, Thomas Pyllyn, and Fulk Dutton, the reserved rents to the king excepted, to have and to hold to the said Richard from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel [29 Sept.] next for twenty one years paying 45s. 8d. per annum; he, the said Richard on his part, to carry out repairs, etc. Given at Westminster [no date].¹⁰⁸

Intimation of the granting of this lease was conveyed to the farmers and tenants by the Chancellor of the Court, and any prior claim was, at the same time, challenged.

" This shal be to require youe in the Kinges behalff to suffer
 " Richarde Hough to have & occupie all suche landes and
 " tentes belongyng to the Grey ffriers in West Chester as youe
 " or any of youe do hold or cleyme to have by Color of any
 " lease made vnto any of youe by the said late ffriers or els to
 " shew vnto me before Haloutide next why youe shold not so
 " do thus fayre youe hertely well. ffrom lemb' the xvijth day
 " of July.

" Yor loving ffrend

" Rychard Rychess¹⁰⁹

" To the Tenntes and fermors of the
 " possessions belongyng to the late
 " Grey ffriers in West Chester."¹¹⁰

Shortly after this the whole of the buildings were sold to Hough, as shewn by the following receipt:—

" Thys byll made the xxviiijth day of July In the xxxijth
 " yere off or Sou'gne lord kynge Henry the viij [1540]
 " wytnessyth that I Rychard Bowes¹¹¹ sarvand vnto Willie
 " Bolles esquire¹¹² Recever off or sayd Sou'gne lord have bar-

¹⁰⁸ Mayer MS., No. 53.

¹⁰⁹ This was Richard Rich, first baron Rich, lord chancellor, and a man of unscrupulous character, who was execrated for his treachery by Romanists and Protestants alike. He was appointed Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations of the Revenues of the Crown on 19 April, 1536, and held the appointment until 1544. Rich devoted himself zealously to the suppression of the religious houses, being described as the hammer while Cromwell was the mallet. Rich occasionally visited a monastery, but generally contented himself with the administration of their revenues, "and it was natural that some of the enormous wealth which passed through his hands should stick to his fingers."

¹¹⁰ Mayer MS., No. 55.

¹¹¹ Possibly the individual who was subsequently appointed escheator of York.

¹¹² He was one of the Commissioners of the King in Cheshire in 1536, and was appointed Receiver of Augmentations for the counties of Nottingham, Derby and Cheshire.

" ganed and sold vnto Rychard Hoghe esquire by comande-
 " ment off my sayd mester auctorysed by the kynge's com-
 " myssyon all and evary the churche And other howses
 " loggynges byldynges wt all maner stone tymber sclat and
 " other stuffe thereto appertenynge now beinge wthin the syte
 " & psyngte of the late freres mynors off the Syte off Chester
 " all maner howses places & byldynges beinge before In
 " layse by co'vent Sayle to any parson or parsons always
 " excepted to be by hym and hys assygnys taken downe and
 " caryed away frrome tyme to tyme at hys and there plesure
 " flor wiche bargaen & sale the sayd Ryc' Hoght hath well &
 " truely contented & payd vnto me the sayd Richard Bowes
 " to the Kynge's graces Vuse the sum off xij^l. Sterling wher-
 " off I confesse me truely satysfied and hym thereoff dys-
 " charged by thys presents the day & yere above sayd sub-
 " scribed my name and set my Sayle

" by me Rychard Bowes."¹¹³

The next record consists of a fairly minutely detailed account of the friary lands and buildings, the names of several tenants, the leases (most of which, it will be noted, are dated immediately before the actual suppression), and the annual rents.

" The lands and possessions of the Friars Minors
 " within the city of Chester in a rental of the same made
 " and renewed before William Bolles esquire, receiver,
 " and John Wyseman, auditor, commissioners of the king,
 " 31 Hen. viii [1539-40]

" Namely

" Parish of Holy Trinity within the aforesaid city :—

" Farm of one small toft on the east side of the said church
 " within the parish of Holy Trinity of the aforesaid city, with
 " 24 feet of one ' le Aleys ' there demised to Ralph Rogerson
 " by indenture of the last day of April 30 Hen. viii [1538] for
 " lxxx years at a yearly rent of ij^s and it is noted that the
 " said Ralph paid to the prior there xx^s on entry.

" Farm of one close and a stone wall round the same on the
 " west of the church with the metes and bounds as described
 " in the indenture, also the farm of a certain house or cham-
 " ber built on the east side of the close called the ostrye, with
 " a certain chamber over the common kitchen there, and an-
 " other chamber called le Bysshopp Chamber, demised to
 " Ralph Wryne gentleman by indenture dated x June xxx
 " Hen. viij [1538] for 100 years at a yearly rent of x^s.

¹¹³ Mayer MS., No. 57 (*vide* Morris, 144).

" Farm of two small chambers on the east of the church, " with a garden called le Co'vent Gardyn, demised to Thomas " Martyn by indenture dated 6 Apr. 29 Hen. viii [1538] for " 60 years at an annual rent of ijs iiij^d. Nevertheless it is " noted that Richard Hough servant of the most noble lord " Thomas Cromwell declares that this indenture was only " sealed three days before the aforesaid surrender.

" Farm of one house abutting on the dorter on the east part " of le flarmarye there, demised to Thomas Pyllyon by inden- " ture dated [blank] 30 Hen. viii, of which indenture no evi- " dence was produced before the above auditor, and demised " to him for the term of [blank] years at an annual rent of " vs.

" Farm of an orchard lying on the east of the chancel there, " demised to Fulk Dutton by indenture dated 2 June 27 Hen. " viii [1535] of the said lord the king for lxxx years, paying " per annum iij^s o^d.

" Farm of the land and soil of the whole church together " with the farm of one ' le Aleys ' lying on the south part as " disclosed by witnesses, per annum iij^s iiij^d.

" Farm of all other houses and buildings and land and soil " there not demised above, as disclosed by witnesses, per " annum xx^s o^d.

" Total xlvs viij^d

" Examined by me John Wyseman, auditor."¹¹⁴

Whether the lease to Hough was executed or not, on 5 May, 1544, the sites of the three Chester friaries, together with the rectory of Whitegate and other property, were granted in fee by the king to John Cokkes, a citizen and salter of London, for £358 6s. 10½^d.¹¹⁵ In the grant of the site of the Grey Friars it is stated that it included messuages, cottages, chambers, buildings, tofts, gardens, orchards and lands, in Holy Trinity parish, now or late in the occupation or tenure of Ralph Rogerson, Ralph Wryne, Thomas Martyn, Thomas Pylyon, Fulk Dutton, John Thorpe and Richard Hough, and that an annual rent of 4s. 7d. was reserved to the Crown. This grant, which

¹¹⁴ Mayer MS., No. 56 (*vide* Hemingway, ii., 148, and Ormerod, i., 350). The Mayer MS. differs in several respects from what is printed by Hemingway and Ormerod. The transcript printed by the latter is said to have been extracted from the records of the Augmentation Office and communicated to Ormerod by John Caley, esq., F.S.A. The particulars now given agree with those for 31-32 Hen. viii. (*vide* P.R.O., Ministers Accounts, No. 7394).

¹¹⁵ P.R.O. Pat. Roll 757 (*vide* Cal.).

ignored any rights on the part of the lessees from the friars, as will be seen from the following, excited strong opposition from at least one individual.

“ To the righte worshipf’le ser Edwarde North knight
Chancellor of the kings highe Courte of Augmentacons
of the revenues of his Crowne

In most humble wise complayneth vnto yor good wrshipp
your daylye Orator John Cockes Cytyzen and Salter of London
that when our Souraygne lorde the kinges matie that nowe is
Henry theyght was seased in his demesne as of ffee emongst
his graces suppressed landes the revenues of his highnes
Crowne of and in the hole place of the late frerehouse called
the grey freers in the Cytie of Chester dissolved and sup-
pressed and all meases howses chambers cotages and buyld-
inges gardens landes ten’tes lesues pastures and hereditamtes
whatsoever to the same belonging wt thapp’tenn’ces set lyinge
and beyng wthin the cytie of Chester rightfully belonging to
his highnes Crowne as parcel of the revenues of the same
And so seased thereof by his Maties lres Patentis dated at
Westm. the first day of Maye in the xxxvth yere of his Maties
most noble Reigne for a certeyn some of money to his highnes
then in this honorable courte payd by your sayd Orator gave
and graunted vnto your sayd Orator emongest other his graces
suppressed and dissolved lands and late frerehowses in the
sayd citie of Chester all the sayde hole place of the sayd late
dyssolved grey freers And all the sayd meases howses cham-
bers buyldings pastures and other the premysses wt their
app’tenn’ces To have and to hold vnto your said Orator his
heires and his assignees for eu’ Byforce whereof your sayde
Orator entred into all and sing’ler the premysses and was
thereof seased accordingly by good and iuste tytle to him
rightfully cōmen and occupied the same Nen’thelesse right
worshipf’le Sir so hit is that one Thomas Ball and Edmonde
Gybbons of the said Citie cruell and evyll dysposed persons
myndynge to enterupte your said Orator of the peaseble
occupacon of the premysses by the comaundemente of Rauf
Wryne of the sayd Citie alderman and recorder aboute
Januarye laste and sundry tymes sythen the same tyme wth
force and armes malyciousy did breke your said Orators lockes
beyng on the dore of a certeyn pasture of your said Orators
lyinge wthin the walls and precincte of the sayde late grey
freres and parcel of the same end in the occupacon of the sayd
late freres in the same lately beyng to their only vses for the
mayntenance of their hospitalitie And with like force and
comaundemente contynuyng their cruell entente sythens the

sayd have broken the sayd close and the cattalls there Dep. . . . stray . . . qt [?despasturing] at the appoyntemente of your sayde Orator have taken and dryven onto the comen pounde of the sayde cytie and theym ther wrongfully deteyned and theym beaten and evyll intreated and put in great Daunger of life and yo^r said Orator can have no remedie at the comen lawe ther Byforce that the sayde Rauf Wryne is recorder Alderman and highe ruler in eu'y case of the saide Citie and yo^r saide Orator a stranger ther inhabytynge in London so that yo^r saide Orator cannot peasablie enioye the prysses accordinge to his sayde lres patent^{es} But shalbe compelled to sue to the kinges highnes for allowance and repayments of his sayd money w^{ch} for the same in the sayd some he heretofore payde as afore is sayd onelesse yo^r w'shipps helpe therin be p'uyded for redress of the same Wherfor it may please yo^r w'ship in tender consideracon of all and sing'ler the p'mysse to send for the sayd Thomas Ball and Edmonde Gybbons here vnto to answer to the kynges most Drade previe seale to apere before yo^r w'ship ymmediate vpon the recepte therof vnder a certen payne in the same by yo^r wisdom to be lymyted. And therupon not onely to ponsyshe theym for there sayd cruell facte but also to take suche order that yo^r sayd Orator may peasablie enioye occupie the premysses accordinge to the kinges sayde lres patent^{es} to hym graunted And this for the love of God, etc."¹¹⁶

Annexed is :—

" The Answare of Thomas Ball to the Bill of Complaynt of John Cokkes.

The sayd Defendant sayth that the saide Bill is vntrue vncerten And insufficient in the lawe to be answared vnto fayned vncharitably by a complain't Beyng a riche merchant man of gret substance to thentent vtterly to vndo the saide defendaunte Beyng a pou' man dwellinge in the Cite of Chester not able to beire the gret charges in defendyng such extreme sutes in this honorable Court so farre ffrom his contrey And the mater comprsed therin merely det'mynable at the coem lawe withe in the said Cite whereunto he praeth to be remitted. Neu'the lesse if he shalbe compelled to make further Answare in this honorable Court Then he saith that he was neu' party nor prevye to the sayde trespas nor in eny wise is gilty of eny acte or dede alledged agaynst hym in the sayde Bill in man' and fforme as in the same Bill Vntruly is supposed All which matter he is Redy to An'r'r as this honorable Court shall awarde And praythe to be dismissed

¹¹⁶ P.R.O., Augmentation Proceedings, 14/36.

with is reasonable costes And charges for is wrongfull Vexacon "

Also annexed is :—

" The Answer of Edmund Gibbons to the Bill of complaynt of John Cokkes Citizen and Salter of London.

The sayde defendaunts say that the said Bill is vntrue vncerten and insufficient etc. . . . fayned maliciously [The answer then proceeds as in the previous one, but on behalf of both men, then on behalf of Gibbons only, and then continues] and the said Gibbons for forther answer and declaracon of the trenth saith that long tyme before and also at the tyme of the trespas supposed to be done and long tyme before that the sayd complaynant eny had in the lands mentioned in the same bill the sayd Rauff Wryne named in the same bill was and yet is lawfully possessed amongst other lands of and in a certen Clause or pasture wth app'tenn'ces lying wthin the Walles of the late Freres specified in the said bill and also in the same Walles by iuste title and lawful conveyance therof made by the late Gou'nor of the sayd freres and the convent of the same for terms of certen yeres yet contynuyng And the sayd Rauff so beyng therof lawfully possessed about the xvj day of December last past one Rychard Hicheckock John Throp and others by comaundement of the sayd complaynant wt force and armes riotesely brake and toke away the lokks and the dore of the sayd Clause or pasture and wth like force entred and put into the same Clause certen catell ther to pastur at ther pleasinge and sett another lokk upon the sayd dore and so wrongfully kept the sayd Rauff from his lawful possession and occupacon therof wherupon the sayd Gibbons then and yet beyng howshold servant of the sayd Rauff and by his comaundement in peaceable wise took of the sayd lokk beside the sayd dore and peaceably entred into the sayd clause drove forth the sayd catell and the same lawfully empounded in the kynges open pound wthin the sayd Citie According to the order of the kynges lawes and custom of the same Citie. Wherupon the sayd Hitchecok and Throp sued forthe the kynges maties Writt of Repleye for the same catell by force whereof the same mater yet dependeth in sute at the coe lawe in the kynges maties honorable Court before the mair w'in the sayd Citie yet not determyned [w'out that—*sic*] that the said defendants of eny evill disposed mynd wt force and armes maliciously break eny locks upon eny dore of eny pasture of the said complaynants or wt like force or cruell entent syns the tyme lymytted in the sayd bill break the said Close or eny catell ther pasturyng toke or drave to the co'en pound of the sayd Citie other wise than is above rehersed or

eny suche catell ther wrongfully deteyned or theym beete & evill entreated or put in daunger of liff in man' and forme as in the sayd bill vntruely is alleged All which maters the sayd defendants should be redy to an'e as the honorable Court shall award and forasmuche as the mater above rehersed is not dependinge at the cōem lawe as is aforesaid but also before yor maistership in this honorable court here at the sute of the sayd complaynant against the said Rauff Wryne beyng a verey partys to the same Whereby it doth manifestly appere that the sute against these pou' defendants in this honorable court is but only of malice and for vexation lyke to empou'isshe and binde them w'out cause as the said Hitchcok servant of the complaynant openly manasith theym so to doo The same defendants pray to be dismissed out of this honorable co't w^t their reasonable expenses in this behalff susteyned, etc.'¹¹⁷

John Cockes sold the site of the White Friars to Fulk Dutton of Chester a fortnight after he had acquired the three friaries from the king, but he retained the other two. As a result of his considerable speculations in church property Cockes amassed wealth and developed into a county gentleman, being styled John Cocks, of Redbourn, co. Hert, esquire. On 30 July, 1556, he had a royal licence to alienate all his manors, etc. to Thomas Cocks¹¹⁸ his son. Immediately on the accession of Elizabeth, Thomas Cokkes of Reymondes [or Beaumonts, near St. Albans], co. Hert., gentleman, was allowed further to alienate the property. The licence from the Queen shews that in consideration of the sum of 36s. 8d. the sites of the Grey and Black Friaries, held of the Crown *in capite*, were granted to Edward Bygges, of London, gentleman, and Elizabeth his wife, for ever. This is dated 12 Oct. 1 Eliz. [1559].¹¹⁹

Sixteen months later, *i.e.*, 7 Feb. 3 Eliz. [1560/1], the Queen granted licence for a still further alienation of the two sites, in consideration of a similar amount. The parties on this occasion were Thomas Cookes [*sic*], of Reymonde, co. Hert., gentleman, and Bridget his wife, and

¹¹⁷ P.R.O., Augmentation Proceedings, 13/95.

¹¹⁸ P.R.O., Rot. Memorand. (L.T.R.), 4 & 5 P. & M., Hil. Rec., 20, 49 (*vide Reliquary*, xxiii., 103).

¹¹⁹ P.R.O., Pat. Roll 948.

Edward Bygges and Elizabeth his wife, to Richard Dutton, of Chester, gentleman, for ever.¹²⁰

Thus the Grey and Black Friaries also passed into the possession of the Chester branch of the Dutton family, and the sites are mentioned in the *inquisitio post mortem* of Richard Dutton [who died in 1583] which was held in 1590. The reference therein to the Franciscan site is as follows:—

“ The dissolved house and site of the Freers Minors commonly called the Grey Freers in the city of Chester lately dissolved and six messuages or cottages in the parish of Holy Trinity to the said house belonging all part of the possessions of the friars minors . . . and held of the Queen in chief by service of . . . part of a knight's fee paying yearly to the Queen for the house site and other premises of the friars minors 4s. 7d.’¹²¹

In 1588 Edward Dutton, son and heir of Richard, demised his interest in the friary to Peter Warburton, of Arley, and the son-in-law of the latter, Thomas Wilbraham, of Woodhey,¹²² and the site was granted to them by the Queen. The friary was described at that time as being the residence of Peter Warburton, a lawyer and alderman of Chester.¹²³ It is doubtful, however, if Warburton was living at the Grey Friary, as his house is called the Black

¹²⁰ P.R.O., Pat. Roll 966.

¹²¹ Partly from *The Duttons of Dutton*, and partly from *Inquisitio post mortem* of Richard Dutton at P.R.O.

¹²² P.R.O., Pat. Roll 1335. Ormerod, ii., 705, gives the date of the demise as 1579, and states that the information was supplied by Sir J. T. Stanley, bart. Hemingway, ii., 147, and Morris, 145, repeat the statement. The original grant is said to be at Alderley. In Harl. MS. 2020 [f. 458], there is a rough abstract of a record which is connected with the friary as the following note is written in the margin—“the Grey frees in Watergat street [? and] ye Black friers.” The note appears to shew that in an action in the nature of *entry on disseisin* pending in the Portmote at Chester, in 1587, between William Glasier against George Warburton, gent., and Peter Warburton of Chester, esq., for lands in the parish of Holy Trinity, comprising 20 messuages, a garden, and an acre of land, the defendants called upon John Davenport of London, haberdasher, and Joan [or Jane] his wife to warrant their title. The sheriffs accordingly summoned them to attend at Chester, but they were too feeble to make the journey or attend, and so a commission was issued whereby any two or more of the four commissioners were given power, presumably, to hear the truth of the matter in London. This seems to indicate a Davenport interest in the property before 21 July, 1587.

¹²³ Ormerod, ii., 705.

Hall in the Watergate Street. The late Mr. T. Hughes, F.S.A., identifies the Black Hall with a building which was erected in the sixteenth century on the south side of Watergate Street, in the place where the headquarters of the Western Command are now situated.¹²⁴ It seems most likely that this is correct, and, if so, Warburton was living in a house built on or near the site of the Black Friary and not at the Grey Friary.

Some of the details of the possessions of the Grey friars are given in the following abstract of the permission to alienate :—

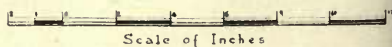
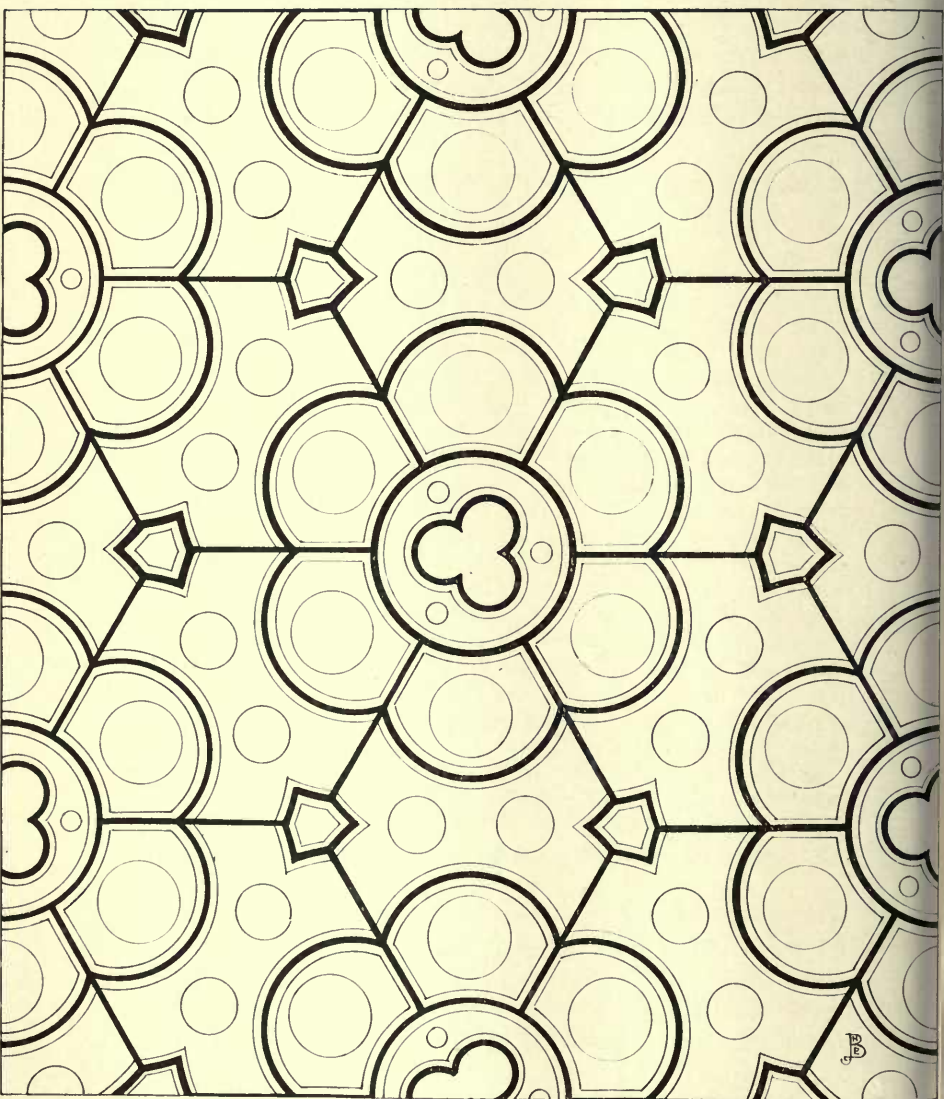
The Queen to all her bailiffs, etc. That whereas by a certain deed of feoffment dated 16 Sep. in the 30th year of our reign [1588] Edward Dutton gent. and his heirs have granted to Peter Warburton, of Arley, co. Ches., gent., and Thomas Wilbraham, esq. the house of the Friars Minors, commonly called the Grey Fryers within the city of Chester lately dissolved, one close of pasture containing about three acres in which there was a pigeon house ; an orchard or croft adjacent on the east, and a toft and a garden now in the possession of Peter Warburton of Chester ; also one office or house of work commonly called a work-house ; together with one garden and a vacant piece of land late in the possession of William Stevenson, joiner, all of which recited premises have been the site and appurtenant to the house of the said late Friars Minors, and enclosed and surrounded by a stone wall hard by the Watergate and late in the tenancy or occupation of Thomas Grene, of Chester alderman.

And all that [property late belonging to the Black Friars], which we hold *in capite*. To have and to hold to the said Peter and Thomas and their heirs for ever. Know, therefore that we, of our special favour and in consideration of 20s. grant permission to alienate etc. Dated at Westminster 22 April [1588/9]. Annotated 'In rogat' permission to alienate to Peter Warburton et als.¹²⁵

Sir Peter Warburton, of Grafton, co. Ches., knight, one of the justices of the King's Bench, and a son-in-law of the Peter Warburton of Arley, already mentioned, was found, in an *inquisitio post mortem* held 10 Sep. [20 Jas. I.], 1622, to have died seized of . . . premises

¹²⁴ *Cheshire Sheaf* (1st S.), i., 246.

¹²⁵ P.R.O., Pat. Roll 1335.



Section of glazed tile flooring discovered on assumed site of Frater. Most of the designs incised on the tiles are repeated on the other tiles reproduced on pages 17 and 26.

in Chester, "including the site of the house of the friars "minors, commonly called les Gray fryers, and four "acres of land appertaining thereto."¹²⁶

Early in the seventeenth century the church of the Grey Friars had been transformed into a dwelling house, and it is said to have been then "in the possession of Sir Thomas "Smith, of Chester and Hough."¹²⁷ At the time the plan of the friary was made, probably in the second half of the seventeenth century, the friary is shewn as a residence of Sir William Brereton.¹²⁸ Be this as it may, by the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Peter Warburton, of Grafton, to Sir Thomas Stanley, of Alderley, the site of the Grey Friars, as well as that of the Black Friars, passed into the possession of the Stanley family.¹²⁹ This gives the reason for the naming of Stanley Place and Stanley Street, which were subsequently laid out on the old friary lands.

7.—THE LINEN HALL.

The acquisition of the site of the Grey Friary and other property by the "proprietors of the Linen Hall," as the merchants who built that place were styled, and the frequent reference to the site, in the records relating to the later building, call for some mention of the venture of the Irish linen merchants.

With the object of diverting trade from the old Linen Hall near the Cathedral, on 14 Oct., 1774, forty merchants agreed to contribute £100 each for the erection of a new hall. Nine months later, on 26 July, 1775, four nominees of the linen merchants contracted with Sir John Thomas Stanley, bart., for the purchase of a freehold field called the Grey Friars' Close or the Yatch Field, together with houses, stables, barns, gardens, and hereditaments, in or

¹²⁶ Ormerod, ii., 704. Also *Chester Inq. p.m.*, 97.

¹²⁷ Harl. MS. 2125, f. 267 etc. *Antiquity of Chester*. Also Lysons 577. There is no mention of Chester property in the *inq. p. m.* of either Sir Thomas Smith or of his son Sir Laurence Smith.

¹²⁸ Harl. MS. 2073, f. 21.

¹²⁹ Ormerod, iii., 576.

near to Watergate Street and in Lower, Locker or Grey Friars' Lane, and formerly part of the said field, subject to a perpetual chief or ground rent of £130.

The merchants also contracted for the purchase of freehold houses, a smith's shop, gardens and hereditaments, on the same side of Grey Friars' Lane and bounded on the west by Grey Friars' Close, which Stanley had purchased from the Rev. Samuel Boswell and Charles Boswell, subject to a perpetual chief rent of £17 18s. 0d. Also of a leasehold cottage, on the same side of the said lane and bounded on the west by Grey Friars' Close, which Stanley had purchased from Samuel Boswell and Thomas and Elizabeth Woolright, for the residue of a term of 500 years, subject to a chief rent of £2 2s. 0d. This cottage had formed part of the Cheshire estate of Sir Thomas Smith, of Chester and Hough, and had been leased on 21 July, 1688, by his representatives.

By an agreement, dated 13 Oct., 1775, the forty subscribers undertook to complete the purchase, to erect upon part of the land a linen hall, to sell upon chief rent the surplus land, to appoint new trustees, and, annually, nine committee men, to ballot for the right to shops in the Linen Hall, and to have them leased, to those who drew them, for the term of 999 years, at an annual rent. Two days later most of the forty executed a bond to effect the indemnity of the four nominees against the liability imposed upon them by their agreement with Stanley.

On 25 Sep., 1777, Sir John Thomas Stanley, Oswald Leicester, and the Rev. Obadiah Lane, conveyed and assigned the property to the four nominees, who undertook to erect the hall and keep it in repair, and vendor reserved power to retake possession should the rent be in arrear for fifty days.

In 1778 the new Linen Hall was erected on the north-eastern portion of the land. It was an unpretentious brick building of quadrangular form and of considerable extent. The surrounding wall was lofty, and around the inner face of it thirty-six double and twenty-four single

shops were built. At the same date the remainder of the land abutting on Watergate Street and the City Walls was offered for sale, as indicated in the following advertisement which was continuously inserted in the *Chester Courant* from April to August, 1778 :—

“ Chester. There is now to be let for building on under the customary building leases several hundred yards of land, situate, lying, and being in a field commonly called and known by the name of the Yatch field,¹³⁰ near the Watergate, within and adjoining to the City Walls, being a most convenient, dry, and healthy situation, commanding a very pleasant prospect of the Flintshire hills and the River Dee with great part of the inclosed lands recovered from the sea. Its extent will admit of erecting elegant houses that might be formed into a square which will open to the City Walls, and its situation may, with great propriety, be considered as in the country. Part of this ground will afford very good houses with every convenience to be built to front Watergate Street. A plan of the whole may be seen by applying to Mr. Edward Woodfin, carpenter, in Watergate street, who will receive proposals.

(signed) William Griffiths.”

The sale was duly effected and the suggestion for forming a square and a range of houses facing Watergate Street carried out. The latter, known as Watergate Flags, was first erected, as evidenced by the date, “ 1779,” which is cast on two of the existing spout-heads. Stanley Place quickly followed, and on the spout-heads of several of the houses dates extending from “ 1780 ” to “ 1783 ” may be seen.

On 27 Sep., 1781, thirty-seven of the forty merchants, doubtless those who had kept up their subscriptions, agreed to vest the land in trustees for a term of 1,000 years, to secure the payments of the chief rents to Stanley, and to

¹³⁰ The Yacht Field appears to have taken its name from the Yacht Inn (usually written “ Yatch ” in earlier times), and Mr. G. W. Haswell makes the interesting suggestion that the hostelry may not have been dedicated to the class of boat with which it is generally connected, but that the word may be intended for “ yate ” or “ yatt,” and that the house was the Gate or Gate-house Inn, the entrance to the friary being in close proximity. Yatch, however, is not an unusual, although incorrect, spelling of yacht, and the situation of the house makes it very nearly connected with the once important maritime interests of Chester.

5 July 1783				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
16. Thomas Barnes	...	...	...	1	15	0			
17. Edward Woodfin	...	...		2	12	6			
18. William Davies	...	...		2	12	6			
				3	16	6			
19. Benj. Saunders	...	...		1	8	4			
				3	7	6			
				3	7	6			
				1	9	0			
20. Thomas Griffies	...	...		2	12	6			
				2	12	6			
21. Thomas Rathbone	...	...		2	0	0			
				3	15	0			
							31	8	10
2 Oct. 1816									
22. Jane and John G. Brittain	...	...	...	4	0	0			
23. Thomas Lunt	...	...	...	0	10	0			
							4	10	0
9 July 1818									
24. Also other land and leasehold cottage									
James Lightfoot	...	...		2	0	0			
				2	0	0			
							4	0	0
3 Oct. 1820									
25. James Lightfoot	...	...	...	4	0	0			
							4	0	0
				Total	...	£121	2	0	

Considerable business was carried on at the Linen Hall for a number of years, but Hemingway, writing in or about 1837, says: "For many years the Irish linen merchants have ceased to import their linens direct to Chester and in consequence very few of these shops are let at our Midsummer or Michaelmas fairs. It is understood that the proprietors are desirous of disposing of the whole concern."¹³¹

In 1887 the chief rents of £130, £17 18s. 0d., and £2 2s. 0d. were conveyed by the then Lord Stanley, of Alderley, to Mr. Thomas John Rider, of Ellesmere, whose long deceased father had acquired the interests of the thirty-

¹³¹ ii., 12.

seven Linen Hall subscribers, and, in 1919, the executors of the Will of his son conveyed to the Chester Race Company the 8,750 square yards of land forming the site of the Linen Hall, and 689 square yards forming the site of Nos. 13 to 21, Linen Hall Street, and a stable. The house, etc., property appears to have been immediately resold to the Chester Corporation, who had already acquired Nos. 3 to 9 inclusive, which doubtless mark the position of the old entrance to the Grey Friary.

8.—THE CONVENTUAL SEAL.

The only known impression of the Seal of the Chester Franciscan Friary is that appended to the deed by which the fraternity granted part of the church to the merchants and sailors of the city. There are rough sketches of it in the journal of the Chester Archæological Society,¹³² and in Canon Morris' history,¹³³ and a cast of the seal has recently been added to the collection in the British Museum.¹³⁴ The design is of the *Christus regnans de ligno* type; the crucified figure wearing a long garb with a girdle and an imperial crown. Encircling it is this inscription:—

SI[IGILLVM]: FRATR[V]M: MINORV[M]:
CESTRIE

The impression is not particularly good, but the seal is of an interesting type and it is not unlikely to have been in use from the date of the foundation.

9.—THE WARDENS.

Of the wardens and their fellow friars little information has come to light. Possibly the "ffr Ricardus de Habere-
"leye sac' et Prof'¹³⁵ Cestrie," whose name is given in a

¹³² (Old S.), i., 153.

¹³³ 143.

¹³⁴ Detached Seal No. clxvi.

¹³⁵ "Sac' et Prof'." It seems that this, which has no recognised meaning as it stands, must be "Sac. Theol. Prof."—his university degree. "Sacerdos et professor" would not be likely, as "professor" by itself implies nothing, and "presbyter" is the habitual designation of the order of priest in such a context.—A.H.T.

list of brothers deceased shortly after the Chapter General of the Order held at Bononia [?Bologna] on 22 May, 1328,¹³⁶ was an early warden of the house, but beyond this the names of only three wardens of the Grey Friars of Chester have survived, namely:—

1403, William Leggesley or Seggesley.

1433-4 Feb. 14, David Bromfield.¹³⁷

1537, William Wall.

Even of the first two, beyond their names, nothing is known, but considerable detail is extant relating to the third.

William Wall,¹³⁸ the last warden of the house, was a man of some distinction. He was of Cheshire descent, being a son of John Wall, of Helsby, by his wife, Elizabeth, a daughter of Richard Worrall, mayor of Chester in 1508.¹³⁹ Having studied for 12 years, on 3 July, 1513, Wall obtained at Oxford grace to oppose, with the stipulation that six months should intervene between his opposition and responson.¹⁴¹ Described as a "Minorite," he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity at Oxford, on 16 June, 1515.¹⁴⁰ Wall incepted in June or July, 1518, and half his composition was remitted.¹⁴¹ In December, 1518, he was dispensed from his regency for a fortnight.¹⁴¹ It is

¹³⁶ *Collec. Franciscana*, by A. G. Little (Brit. Soc. Franc. Studies), i., 150.

¹³⁷ Mentioned by Morris, but no authority given.

¹³⁸ Other namesakes were William Wall, clerk, who was enfeoffed in trust of the manor of Dalton, etc., by Sir Piers Legh, of Bradley, co. Lanc., knight and priest, on 12 Mar., 1496 (*L. & C. Rec. Soc.*, xxx., 73). Another namesake was Abbot of Kenilworth from 1516 or 1517 until the Suppression (*Camden Soc.*, xxvi., 134). In 1525 there was a fellow of Eton College of this name. (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*).

¹³⁹ Visitation of Cheshire, 1580, etc. (Harl. Soc., xviii.), 270. This does not agree with Harl. MS., 2151 (f. 44), in which, under the heading "St. Werburgis," the following occurs:—

"this epitaph of Doctor Wall is in the
"large glasse window ou' the west doore
"of the minster.

"sub hac fenestra jacet Willielmus Wall nuper huius ecclesie Prebendarius, ac olim minorita: filius Willelmi Wall pauperis heremite; qui post mortem vxoris suae, ad solitudinem Montis Muliearni se contulit ibidem solitaria, vitam ducens oratione jeiunio et contemplatione"

¹⁴⁰ *Alumni Oxonienses*.

¹⁴¹ *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, by A. G. Little (Oxford Hist. Soc., xx.),

related that "Br. Wm. Wall, Franciscan, bachelor," who had supplicated for the cap in 1516 was this year admitted to proceed, and, accordingly, took the degree of Doctor of Divinity.¹⁴² According to Foster, Wall took this degree in June, 1518.¹⁴⁰

In 1528 William Wall and his brother Robert, who was a baker of Chester, were parties to a bond.¹⁴³ On 20 Oct., 1530, Wall is described as "deputy M[aster] official in the Collegiate Church of St. John's at Chester,"¹⁴⁴ and, in a pedigree, as "one of the masters of St. John's Colledge."¹⁴⁵ The late Mr. T. Hughes, F.S.A., says that Wall was then a prebendary of St. John's¹⁴⁶ and serving the altar of one of the many chapels included within that church.¹⁴⁷ Dr. Ormerod states that Wall was a canon of St. John's, and adds that he was removed to a prebend in Chester Cathedral *before* the Dissolution, which, as inferring that there were prebendaries of the present Cathedral before the see was created, appears to be an error.¹⁴⁸

In 1536,¹⁴⁹ or 1537,¹⁵⁰ Wall commenced to build a conduit at Boughton, presumably at the springs then known as St. Giles', for the purpose of providing the city with

¹⁴² *Coll. Min., op. cit.*

¹⁴³ Chester Arch. Soc. (New S.), xxii., 134.

¹⁴⁴ *Sheaf* (1st S.), i., 55.

¹⁴⁵ *Visit. of Cheshire, 1580, etc. op. cit.* There are other pedigrees of the Walls of Helsby and Chester in the Harleian MSS.

¹⁴⁶ "Prebendary of St. John's" is not strictly accurate. A prebendary is the prebendary of his prebend, but a *canon* of the church from which his prebend is derived. The official title was "A. canonicus ecclesie collegiate sancti Johannis Cestrie et prebendarius primæ prebendæ [or primi stalli] sanctæ Crucis ex boreali parte chori ejusdem" or words to that effect, according to his prebend; and this is true of every church of secular canons. On the other hand, "prebendaries of the Cathedrall Churche in Chester" (St. Werburgh's) is right, as the stall-holders in Henry VIII's new foundations were not styled canons, and were prebendaries as regarded both the churches and their prebends—owing to which fact a great confusion has arisen about the use of the titles "prebendary" and "canon" in the old foundations. But mediæval usage is clear on the point: the individual was a prebendary *in* a church, but a canon *of* it. Prebendaries were frequently in the eighteenth century called prebends for short, as at Durham, but the use is inaccurate.—A.H.T.

¹⁴⁷ *Sheaf* (1st S.), i., 55.

¹⁴⁸ i., 308.

¹⁴⁹ Morris, 282, quoting Harl. MS. 2125.

¹⁵⁰ *Sheaf* (3rd S.), viii., 87, and *Vale Royal*, i., 82, ii., 195.

water. The leaden pipes from the conduit were laid along the river side "to the Bridge Gate, against Mr. Brere-wood's house." Years after, in 1584, when a conduit was erected at the Cross, it was decorated with the arms of "Mr Doctor Wall," in company with those of the earls of Derby and Leicester, the city, and Mr. Offley,¹⁵¹ in recognition of services rendered to the community.

On 1 or 4 Aug., 1541, Wall was admitted a prebendary of Chester Cathedral "per fundationem," and a fellow prebendary, John Hewett,¹⁵² in his will of 30 Oct., 154-, bequeathed "to Mr Doctor Wall my beste jackedd and "my best dowblett."¹⁵³ Thomas Clarke, dean of Chester, in his will of 14 Sep., 1541, appointed "Doctor Wyllyam "Wallen [and two other] prebendaries of the cathedrall "churche in Chester affore my lawfful executors."¹⁵⁴ On 3 May, 1551, the Dean and Chapter sold a bell weighing eighteen hundredweight to two citizens for £34, and the receipt of the money is acknowledged by Wall.¹⁵⁵ His signature, with those of the Dean and other prebendaries, is appended to an inventory of the Cathedral vestments, plate, etc., dated May, 1553.¹⁵⁶

On 24 Apr., 1555, Dr. Wall was to be found among those present at the formal trial of George Marsh, before he was burnt at Spital Boughton.¹⁵⁷ Two years later Wall's signature may be seen; the first appended to the declaration of the subscribers to "The Three Articles" in Cheshire.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵¹ Morris, 284, quoting Harl. MS., 2093, f. 205. It may be here mentioned that the arms of the earls of Derby and Leicester, the queen, and those of the city, the last with the date "1585," are carved on four freestone slabs now resting against the east wall of St. John's Church. It has previously been assumed (*vide Two Elizabethan Chamberlains of Chester*, in *Chester Arch. Soc. Journal*, New S., xx., 192, *et seq.*) that the slabs had been fixed in the church mentioned, but this was not proved, and the possibility of the arms having been some of those fixed on the conduit is worth bearing in mind.

¹⁵² or Huett, admitted a prebendary on the same date and probably identical with John Jote, Wall's late fellow friar. Jote is not an unlikely form of the variable Jewett, Iwett, Hewitt, etc.

¹⁵³ *Chetham Soc.* (old S.), li., 151.

¹⁵⁶ Morris, 153.

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, xxxiii., 126.

¹⁵⁷ *Sheaf*, 3rd S., iii., 46.

¹⁵⁵ *Sheaf*, 1st S., i., 152.

¹⁵⁸ *Sheaf*, 3rd S., i., 34.

When the form of worship again changed, on the accession of Elizabeth, Wall (who must then have been an old man) is given, in the Royal Visitation of 1559, as one of the few Cathedral clergy conforming.¹⁵⁹ Subsequently Wall is mentioned, in 1560, in the will of George Wilmisley, chancellor of the diocese, and half-brother of the notorious Bonner. "I geave and bequethe to my trustye "frend Mr Doctor Wall my best jacket that I have at that "tymme [of my decease] for a remembrance."¹⁶⁰

Notwithstanding his pliable temperament, the last years of the ex-warden's life were not without trouble, as among the State Papers^{160a} there is a list of twenty-three commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes in the diocese of Chester, from which, in or about 1567, it was proposed that Dr. William Wall and four others should be removed as "suspected in religion or of vicious life."

It is unlikely that Wall ever married, and he died in 1574¹⁶¹ without issue.¹⁶² He appears to have been the author of a remarkable sermon, as a note identifying him with the builder of the conduit says, "This was he that "preached in his sermon the world woulde be worse and "worse."¹⁶³ In *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers* (3rd S., 59), taken from notes compiled about 1592, the following is given: "A preacher and chaplain of Dr. Wall's in "Chester, in scorn of Tyburn and of a square cap, swore "he would never wear a corner cap¹⁶⁴ and soon after "hanged himself."¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ *Sheaf*, 3rd S., iii., 27.

¹⁶⁰ *Chetham Soc.* (old S.), xxxiii., 122.

^{160a} Dom., Add., 1566-79, 47.

¹⁶¹ Ormerod, i., 268.

¹⁶² *Harl. Soc.*, xviii., 270.

¹⁶³ Morris, 145, quoting Harl. MS., 2125.

¹⁶⁴ The square cap was made of stuff, sufficiently full to allow of its forming four distinct corners at the top, and came down over the ears and the back of the head. It was the forerunner of the present college cap. The cap came into vogue in the sixteenth century and remained for long the recognised form of sacerdotal head wear, and its use was enforced by an Injunction of Elizabeth. An absurd amount of trouble was taken to enforce the use and an unaccountable amount of heat shown in opposition to it. (*Historic Dress of the Clergy*, G. S. Tyack, pp. 45-48).

¹⁶⁵ *Sheaf*, 3rd S., vii., 20.

10.—THE TENANTS AND FARMERS.

The individuals who held leases of the friary lands and who were otherwise interested in them are so closely connected with the place that some account of them is desirable, and the following notes have been collected:—

RALPH ROGERSON. There were at least two citizens of this name in Chester about the time of the Reformation. The elder one, an ironmonger, is first mentioned in the will of his father, dated 1519.¹⁶⁶ Two years later he was sheriff of Chester, and in 1527 he was appointed an executor of the will of Dr. Thomas Sparke, and was mentioned in the will as a legatee.¹⁶⁷ Among the plate possessed by the Corporation in 1533 there was “a standing cupp w^t a couer weyng xxxiiij^{ti} onces and iiij quarters” which had been given to the city by Rogerson. This piece was subsequently melted up and turned into coin at the Siege.¹⁶⁸ In 1533 Rogerson or “Rogers” was one of the tenants of the Butter-shops.¹⁶⁹ In 1534-5 he served the office of mayor. There was, in the year 1572, in Eccleston church, a “window on the south side of Eaton Chappell . . . [containing] two kneeling figures with eight sonnes and “four daughters; no arms—subscribed:—‘Of your charitie pray for the souls of Rafe Rogers, Maior of Chester, and Lucy his wife. Anno 1534.’”¹⁷⁰ A Rafe Rogerson was pardoned by the King in 1539/40 for shipping leather without paying the dues.¹⁷¹

Later, with other riotous persons to the number of 400, a Rafe Rogerson entered a pasture near the Bache (held by lease by William Glaseor for 99 years from the abbot and convent of St. Werburgh), and destroyed the hedges, etc. Also, with another mob of 300 persons, Rogerson cut down the hedges of a pasture adjoining Pynchewar’s Heys held by William Goodman, alderman, for six years from the abbot and later from the dean and chapter. The date of the first trespass is not given, but it would appear to

¹⁶⁶ *Sheaf*, 3rd S., xiii., 90.

¹⁶⁷ *Chetham Soc.*, old S., xxx., 16.

¹⁶⁸ *Sheaf*, 1st S., i., 170.

¹⁶⁹ *Sheaf*, 1st S., ii., 208.

¹⁷⁰ Harl. MS., 2151, f. 63.

¹⁷¹ *Morris*, 543.

have occurred on or about the date of the second, *i.e.*, February 1545/6.¹⁷² The above probably relates to a younger Ralph who had been enfranchised in 1540, the same year as two other Rogersons, one of whom is described as the son of Ralph Rogerson, alderman. In 1551 the younger Ralph was elected sheriff. His connection with Holy Trinity parish is illustrated by a reference in the churchwardens' accounts in 1559 to a payment "for a leystall for Rafe Rogerson's wife 8s. 4d."

RALPH WRINE. He was appointed recorder of Chester in 1535, and clerk of the Pentice in 1540. The Wrine family were sometime seated at Wrinehill on the borders of Staffordshire, and their coat of arms is given in Harl. MS., 1535, f. 29b. The recorder was son of one William Wrine.¹⁷³ The family figure more than once in the transference of church property within Chester itself during "the hungry Reformation period,"¹⁷⁴ and Ralph Wrine secured some of the Littleton property of St. Werburgh's.

THOMAS MARTYN. This individual was a Chester merchant who was admitted a freeman, as such, on 2 Apr., 1511. He was sheriff of the city 1534-5 and, on 20 Feb., 1539/40, with several other citizens, he received the king's pardon for shipping leather without payment of the accustomed dues.¹⁷⁵ The following extracts from the printed volume of *Holy Trinity Parish Registers* appear to indicate residence in that quarter:—

1537. "Mr Martyn mother's leystall ijs."

1555. "Mrs Martyn owes for her husband's leystall —."

1556. "Mrs Martyn for her husband's leystall iij s."

THOMAS PILLYN, of Chester, was son of Henry Pillyn, of the same city, and he was enfranchised as a shoemaker on 3 Dec., 1533. In or about 1545 he was one of the numerous defendants in two cases where the hedges of fields in the neighbourhood of Chester were broken down and other damages done by riotous bodies of men, as outlined in certain bills of complaint preserved among the

¹⁷² *L. & C. Rec. Soc.*, lxxi., 102, etc.

¹⁷³ *King's Vale Royal*, ii., 195.

¹⁷⁴ *Sheaf*, 1st S., i., 247.

¹⁷⁵ *Morris*, 543.

records of the Court of Star Chamber.¹⁷⁶ At another time Pilyln was a petitioner in the same Court against Sir Piers Dutton, Sir Thomas Pynchewar,¹⁷⁷ and Sir Thomas Horseman, knights, who, it appears, had forcibly entered half built houses at Chester.¹⁷⁸ In 1554 Pilyln is mentioned in the will of William Goodman,^{177 179} and in April of the next year, at the trial of George Marsh, "one Pulleyn, a "shoemaker," made himself prominent among the priests and people who "called on Marsh to recant with "many earnest words." "They bade him kneel down and "pray and they would pray with him and so it was "done."¹⁸⁰ A Thomas Pyllyn, gent., was feodary of the county of Chester in 1556,¹⁸¹ no doubt the erstwhile shoemaker, who, in 1561, was elected one of the sheriffs. In 1567-8 Pilyln was an alderman of the Shoemakers' Company, and in 1568 he is described as "gentleman" and "merchant" and then "defunct."¹⁸²

JOHN THROP. Little information is available respecting this citizen, but there is small doubt that he was ancestor to a royalist mayor of considerable individuality. In 1536 Throp is named as a witness to the will of Thomas Baxter, rector of St. Peter's,¹⁸³ and in 1545 he was concerned in the actions for trespass in which Ralph Rogerson and Thomas Pilyln also figure.¹⁸⁴

FULK DUTTON, of Chester, alderman, was admitted a freeman, as a draper, 10 Nov., 1522. Four years later, 1526-7, he was sheriff of the city, and he subsequently occupied the mayoral chair on three occasions, 1537-8, 1548-9, and 1554-5. On 22 June, 1542, Dutton and the then mayor "rode to the Kinges Majeste" to pray the latter to remove the privilege of sanctuary from Chester,

¹⁷⁶ *L. & C. Rec. Soc.*, lxxi., 102, 114.

¹⁷⁷ One of the fields was known as "Pynchewar's Heys," and it was in the holding of William Goodman.

¹⁷⁸ *Sheaf*, 3rd S., v., 63.

¹⁷⁹ *Chetham Soc.* (old S.), liv., 63.

¹⁸⁰ *Sheaf*, 3rd S., iii., 46.

¹⁸¹ Mayer MS., No. 50.

¹⁸² *vide* Freeman's Rolls for both years.

¹⁸³ *Chetham Soc.* (old S.), liv., 48.

¹⁸⁴ *L. & C. Rec. Soc.*, lxxi., 102, 114.

whither it had been recently transferred from Manchester. This appeal was granted at the expense of the town of Stafford.¹⁸⁵ In 1555 Dutton was present at the trial of George Marsh.¹⁸⁶ He presented the Corporation with "a flat bowle [of silver] waing xx^{vnc's}" which, with other plate, was melted down to meet the expenses of the Siege.¹⁸⁷ A pedigree of this Chester branch of the Duttons, with more detailed information respecting this individual, is printed in *The Duttons of Dutton*.

RICHARD HOUGH, of Leighton and Thornton Hough, was born in 1507, and married Christian, daughter of Sir George Calveley, of the Lea, knight. His son married Jane, base daughter of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, and this connection doubtless served Hough in good stead in enabling him to secure some of the plunder of the dissolved religious houses. Hough died 10 Dec., 1573, and his *inquisitio post mortem* has been lost. In the abstract of it printed in Ormerod¹⁸⁸ there is no mention of Chester property.

The following narrative gleaned from Star Chamber records of the time of Henry VIII. gives some insight into what appears to have been a somewhat truculent and unscrupulous character, living in turbulent days.¹⁸⁹

On a certain day Richard Hough "squier with a great "nowmber of evil doers lay in awayte to murde" one John Mascy, esquire, of Puddington, who was the king's searcher of the port of Chester, as the latter, with his servants, was going home from Chester "about fyve of the "clok at afternone levyng him [Mascy] lying for ded." At the same time Hough "shamefully murtherd oon "Rondulph Davenport, gentilmon," a servant and kinsman of Mascy, and wounded and mangled other retainers who were left for dead, whereupon the misdoers "fled out "of the shire and countrey."

¹⁸⁵ *Sheaf*, 1st S., i., 214.

¹⁸⁶ *Sheaf*, 3rd S., iii., 46.

¹⁸⁷ *Sheaf*, 1st S., i., 170.

¹⁸⁸ ii., 553.

¹⁸⁹ *L. & C. Rec. Soc.*, lxxi., 113, 114, 122, 123.

With a view to excusing the murder, and obtaining a pardon for Hough and immunity for his estate, near kinsmen of the culprit, with the compliance of Henry Hockenhull, of Prenton, coroner of Wirral, took steps which resulted in the jury being composed of their tenants and servants. It is related, however, that two of the jurors would not agree to join in giving the desired verdict, and these were accordingly omitted from the report made by the coroner. This worthy, it was further alleged, would not suffer one William Clayton, a sergeant of the king, to challenge the verdict, and went so far as to lock the doors of the church wherein the inquest was held, to keep the sergeant out. The coroner also unlawfully read a letter from Hough in which the latter excused himself of the murder. Among the witnesses on the defendant's behalf was Thomas Pyllyn, gentleman, doubtless Hough's fellow tenant at the Grey Friars. In a certificate of 1564 Hough is shewn as favourable to the "new religion."¹⁹⁰

11.—THE SITE.

Many have been the conjectures made as to the actual site of the monastery of the Chester Grey Friars. It is located by most authorities in the parish of Holy Trinity.¹⁹¹ Some of them go further and say that it, together with the Black and White Friaries, was near Nicholas Street,¹⁹² while others state that it was near the Water Gate.¹⁹³ The site might, with reason, be looked for in the neighbourhood of "Grey Friars," the byeway which connects Nicholas Street and the Walls, but this name is misleading, as the road was not known as "Grey Friars" before the beginning of the last century (the earlier name being "Smith's Walk"), and the Friary, after which it is called, was situated a considerable distance away. Han-shall¹⁹⁴ writes of Smith's Walk being erroneously called

¹⁹⁰ *Sheaf*, 3rd S., vii., 99.

¹⁹¹ Tanner, *op. cit.*, Cheshire vii., Chester 10.

¹⁹² *Vale Royal*, ii., 22.

¹⁹³ Dugdale's *Monast. Angl.*, vi., 1510.

¹⁹⁴ 256.

Grey Friars in 1817, but the street does not appear to have been officially so called until the middle of the nineteenth century, and the re-naming may have been influenced by some investigations made by the Rev. W. H. Massie. This gentleman, at a meeting of the Chester Archaeological Society, held on 3 Feb., 1852, "pointed out upon a map "places which, he asserted, were the sites of the three "friaries, as well as their inclosures, churches, etc."¹⁹⁵ He then remarked that the highest authorities placed "the "Black Friars about the Linen Hall, and the Grey Friars "on south of Nicholas Street, with its entrance from "Smith's Walk."¹⁹⁶ The pages of the *Journal*¹⁹⁷ shew that in 1856 there was some doubt as to whether Mr. Massie's contention was accurate, or whether, as had more frequently been supposed, the house of the Grey Friars stood to the north of Watergate Street, and that of the Black Friars to the south.

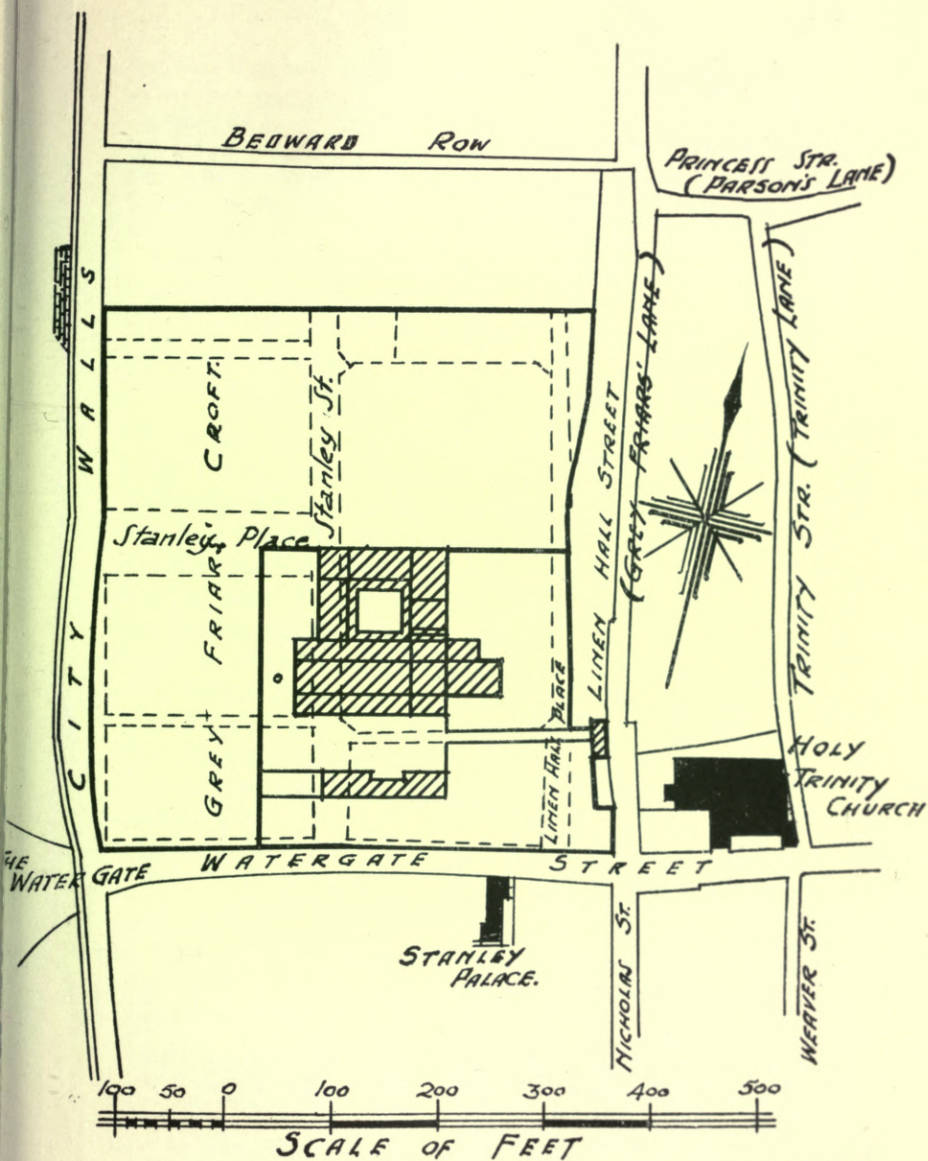
There can, however, be no doubt that Mr. Massie's theory was incorrect, and that the Grey Friars' house was on the north side of Watergate Street. The earliest evidence of this is to be found in a list of Chester streets in the time of the third Edward [1327-1377].¹⁹⁸ In this list it is stated that Berward Street, which, the context makes clear, can only be one of the numerous names by which the present Linenhall Street was known, "begenneth at the "Graye frers gate," and as the other extremity of Berward Street is given as Barne Lane (the modern King Street), the Friary must have been situated at the Watergate Street termination. The following reference confirms the situation at the southern end of Linenhall Street (or the Crofts

¹⁹⁵ *Journal*, O.S., i., 331.

¹⁹⁶ This view, *i.e.*, that the Grey Friars was on the opposite side of Watergate Street to the Linen Hall, was taken by the author of *A short history and description of Chester*, written at the time of the erection of the City Gaol. The work is an early edition of the hand-book printed by J. Fletcher in 1791.

¹⁹⁷ O.S., i., 474.

¹⁹⁸ Morris, *op. cit.*, 256; Hemingway, *op. cit.*, i., 403; and *Cheshire Sheaf*, 1st S., i., 239. This record was copied into the Assembly Book of the Corporation in the time of Thomas Dutton, mayor of Chester, 1567 to 1573.



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Map of the district in which the Chester Grey Friary was situated, shewing the approximate position of the Church and buildings.

Lane as it is here called), and further, it locates the Friary as on the west side of the lane.

[1396] 20 R. II. Oct. 30. Grant of land in the Croftes within the liberty of the city between the lands of Ranulph the clerk and John de Whitmor on the one side and the rector of Holy Trinity on the other, and extending from Trinity lane to the Crofts lane, over against the Friars Minors.¹⁹⁹

Linenhall Street was also known as Chad's Lane,²⁰⁰ Greyfriars Lane, and Loughor or Lower Lane. Several instances of the use of these alternative names occur in 1480, 1532, etc. The first is in a grant of city lands:—

1480. A void parcel of land in Gray Fryars Lowne in length 48 rods and in breadth 8. Leased to Peter Smyth, merchant.²⁰¹ The second occurs in a grant of property to the parish of Holy Trinity, which included "a howse in the Grey frerys "Lane lyinge next to the Grey frers gate."²⁰² At the present time there is a warehouse and shop immediately opposite and practically corresponding in length with the west front of Holy Trinity Church. These premises belong to that parish and doubtless occupy the site of the house referred to, and so locate the entrance to the friary as immediately to the north, which agrees with the position on Holme's plan and with the recent discoveries on the site. The following extract from a rental of city lands, etc., in Chester, made shortly before the Dissolution, is another instance:—

[1534/5] 36 Hen. VIII. Grey Frere Lane. The occupacon of the Drapers for a certeyn place to byld on whiche thei putt theire cariage in nygh to the yate of the freres mynors by yere viij*d*.²⁰³

In Harl. MS. 2150 it is mentioned that the Drapers' paid viij*d*. rent for their "caredge house nere to ye Greye frere "lane ende."²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁹ *Moore MSS.* (L. & C. Rec. Soc., lxxii.), 149.

²⁰⁰ "From it leading to the old Church of St. Chad." (Hanshall, 288). That Linenhall Street was ever called St. Chad's Lane is open to doubt. The Church of St. Chad was reached by a lane diverging from Linenhall Street and not directly off the latter.

²⁰¹ Ledger of Grants and Leases, 1356 to 1775. Corporation MSS., f. 76.

²⁰² Harl. MS., 2177, f. 23.

²⁰³ Harl. MS., 2125, f. 261a.

²⁰⁴ Morris, 306.

Further references occur in the volume of leases of city lands, as under :—

1574. A void parcel of land in lez Crofts then late a muck-hill and [*sic*] the lane leading from the said [*sic*] street on the east part adjoining the said [*?* Grey Friars] wall and under the wall called the Drapers' Caryadge House, leased to Edward Trevor, draper, etc.

1574. A void place in Gray ffryers lane near Gray ffryers wall on the west and on the east of White [*?*Grey] fryars lane and the Drapers' Caryadge House, leased to Nicholas White, merchant, etc.

1574. A parcel of land on the north of Watergate street and on the east of the lane leading to the Crofts and Gray Fryars Wall and adjoining to the Drapers' Caryadge House, leased to Edward Marten, draper, etc.

In 1596 this lane was still called Grey Friars' Lane,²⁰⁵ and, indeed, more than one hundred and fifty years later advertisements in the *Courant*²⁰⁶ refer to " Lower Lane otherwise " Grey Fryars Lane." The origin of the name " Lower Lane " lies in the fact that until the end of the first half of the eighteenth century this was the lowest or most westerly lane on that side of Watergate Street, the remainder of the street bounding the precincts of the Grey Friars; Linenhall Place and Stanley Street not having been constructed.²⁰⁷

Having now, from documentary evidence, located the site and entrance to the Friary with some certainty, reference may be made to the old bird's eye views, maps, and plans, all of post Reformation date, but of which several were published within a reasonable time of that event, and while the friary buildings were still extant. Although these evidences are not, in some instances, over reliable as regards details, useful deductions are to be gained by a critical examination and comparison of them.

In these maps it will be noticed that the north-western section of Chester, bounded by the city walls on the north and west, by Watergate Street on the south, and by Linen-

²⁰⁵ Morris, *op. cit.*, 270.

²⁰⁶ *Courant*, 21st Nov., 1749; *Sheaf*, 3rd S., x., 86.

²⁰⁷ Linenhall Street appears to have received its present name on the opening of the Linenhall in 1778. *Vide Courant* for 22nd Sept., 1778.

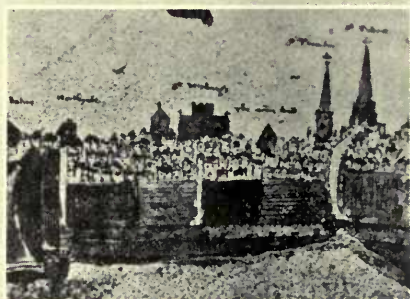




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4

Sections of plans and views of Chester
(The numbers correspond with those in the text).

hall Street and its northern extension on the east, is generally depicted as divided into three rectangular enclosures. These correspond with Lady Barrow's Hey, the Infirmary and its grounds before the recent extension, and the land between Bedward Row and Watergate Street, which last contained the Grey Friary. The following notes are based on the maps, etc. :—

1.—BRAUN'S MAP OF CHESTER, 1572-1618.²⁰⁸ The southerly rectangle is subdivided into eastern and western portions. The former is bordered by continuous ranges of gabled houses on the three sides contiguous to the streets, and a building with two gables occupying the inner south-east corner, which may denote one of the friary buildings. The remainder of the inner space is occupied by two gardens and an orchard. The western half, a field, is enclosed by a wall, evidently the area known as the Grey Friars Croft and later as the Yacht Field. Nothing in the nature of an ecclesiastical building is to be seen.

2.—WILLIAM SMITH'S MAP, 1580.²⁰⁹ The same remarks apply generally, but very few houses can be distinguished, and the execution is rough. The gardens cannot be recognised as such.

3.—WILLIAM SMITH'S WESTERN PROSPECT OF CHESTER, 1580.²¹⁰ This shews a mass of houses at the eastern end of the rectangle and *two* fields between Bedward Row and Watergate Street. One of the buildings among the houses near the south *may* be intended for a tower.

4.—THE PROSPECT OF CHESTER; THE SOUTH-WEST SIDE. UNDATED.²¹¹ This is evidently later than Smith's. The three rectangles and a mass of houses at the eastern side are shewn, but no tower nor anything that could be reasonably identified as part of the friary.

5.—W. HOLLAR'S MAP OF CHESTER, *circa* 1610.²¹¹ In this map the rectangle does not extend as far north as in the

²⁰⁸ From *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, vol. iii., pl. 3 and reproduced in Morris, *juxta* 528.

²⁰⁹ Reproduced in Morris, *juxta* 256.

²¹⁰ Reproduced in Morris, *juxta* 512.

²¹¹ Reproduced in Hemingway, ii., frontispiece.

earlier ones. A few houses only are shewn on the Linen-hall Street frontage, and perhaps one block at the east end of the Watergate Street frontage. Lines, indicating the gardens, are shewn in the eastern half of the rectangle. On the north and south there are clearly defined walls, and on the west, running near to and parallel with the city walls, an equally straight but less clearly defined boundary. Near the centre of this enclosure is an isolated lofty tower and steeple, evidently a relic of the church of St. Francis.

6.—SPEED'S MAP OF CHESTER, 1610.²¹² This is similar to Hollar's but contains less detail. The friary enclosure extends further north than in Hollar's map, and there are massive boundary walls on the southern and western sides. There is a block of houses in the centre of the eastern boundary and at the south-east corner. A tower is shewn but it is of less imposing dimensions than the one given by Hollar, and it is surmounted by a structure that may be intended to denote a partially demolished steeple.

7.—UNIDENTIFIED MAP OF CHESTER, *circa* 1690.²¹³ The tower is shewn and the enclosure has strong walls on the south and west. The boundary on the north and east is less clearly defined. Midway on the eastern frontage there is a series of gabled buildings, and others at the south eastern corner. Two gardens occupy the Bedward Row extremity.

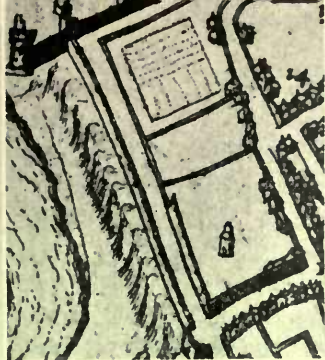
8.—BUCK'S SOUTH-WEST PROSPECT OF CHESTER, 1728.²¹⁴ A number of houses, of a more or less considerable size, are shewn west of Holy Trinity Church, but no building of an ecclesiastical appearance. There is a tower, or more probably dovecote, but this is much to the north of the site of the tower of the church of St. Francis. The building is similarly situated on other contemporary representations of Chester, and it is surrounded by a smaller enclosure than the tower on Hollar's and Speed's maps.

To turn from maps to printed references, the remarks of Pennant should, perhaps, first of all be quoted. They are

²¹² Reproduced in Morris, 227.

²¹³ Chester Public Lib. Print No. C. 308.

²¹⁴ B.M. Print K. 9.3*. Also Chester Public Lib. Print No. A. 8.



6



7



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8

Sections of plans and views of Chester (the numbers correspond with those in the text).

as follows :—" I imagine that this [the Grey Friary] stood " in the Yatch Field, near the place occupied by the new " Linen Hall. By Speed's map of Chester it appears that " there was a church there in his time, and to this day " [*circa* 1778] painted tiles and stained glass, reliques of " ecclesiastical finery, are still dug up."²¹⁵ The buildings are recorded as existing in a tolerably entire condition to the middle of the seventeenth century,²¹⁶ and a part of the house was to be seen at a later date, a portion, possibly, of the buildings referred to in the appended advertisement.

1750 Jan. 23. " To be sold several very good houses, stables, coach houses, garden and timber yard, in the Grey Fryars, pleasantly situated near the Roo-Dee in the city of Chester, held by a lease wherein three fresh lives are now in being. Apply to Mr. Taylor or Mr. Kelsall, etc." (*Chester Courant*).

Later it appears that Mr. Hesketh had some wine vaults which were constructed out of a part of the friary.²¹⁷ These were afterwards demolished and, as shewn below, the owner built a house on the site. This house was on the west side of Stanley Street and, in connection with it, Crane relates, that while a cellar there was being excavated, tiles, which had been portions of the flooring of a church, and buried bodies were dug up ; and, on this, he apparently bases a statement that the church, which also occupied part of the roadway was that of St. Chad.²¹⁸ So far as the church of St. Chad is connected with this discovery, the statement is erroneous, as there is every reason to believe that that structure was several hundred yards to the north or north-

²¹⁵ *Tours in Wales* (1883 ed.), i., 236.

²¹⁶ Ormerod, i., 349; Tanner, *Chester*, vii., 10; and Dugdale, v., 1510.

²¹⁷ *Broster's Guide* (1782 ed.), 24; (1797 ed.), 25.

²¹⁸ Hemingway, ii., 151. In connection with these vaults and a house of Mr. Hesketh, an incorrect deduction has been drawn by Mr. Watkin, in his *Roman Cheshire* (154). He states that in 1885 the premises described were in the occupation of Messrs. Blackburne & Co., wine merchants. It is clear that the premises to which he refers are those at the junction of Watergate Street and Trinity Street. These certainly were, at one time, occupied by the Heskeths, but they were not even near the friary, and had been built or renovated in 1745 by Henry Bennett, of Moston Hall, whose crest is carved on the keystone of a window and cast on two leaden spouthheads. These premises or earlier ones on the site had been in the occupation of a notorious coiner (*vide* Hemingway, ii., 7 *et seq.*).

east, and there can be little doubt that the remains found were on the actual site of the church of St. Francis.

About 1830 other tiles were discovered in Stanley Street, and eight complete specimens and four fragments of these were presented to the Chester Archæological Society in 1850,²¹⁹ and were illustrated in the *Journal*. Some, if not all, are still to be seen in the Museum. So far as can be ascertained no further discoveries are recorded from this time until the recent excavations were made. The late City Surveyor, Mr. I. Matthews Jones, M.I.C.E., said that for the last half century he remembered nothing of interest being found in the neighbourhood.

Another possible relic of the Friary is a short square pillar of red sandstone, richly ornamented with a diamond-shaped pattern, rosettes, and a design like a fleur-de-lis of decidedly Tudor appearance. Let into the upper surface there is a brass plate which bears this inscription :—" A
" fragment of the Roman hypocaust discovered in Water-
" gate Street, Chester, and which was erected circa fifty
" years before Christ " (*sic*). It is generally supposed that this pillar was one of those forming the remains of a sudatory and hypocaust discovered in January, 1779, near the Watergate, while sinking the foundations for the Watergate Flagg houses. Foote Gower, however, says that the discoveries were made on the site of the new Linen Hall.²²⁰ It is said that a number of the *pilæ* were taken to Oulton Park, and Watkin was informed that only one could be found. He adds that one of the *pilæ* was, however, preserved in the garden of the house adjoining the Chester railway station, formerly occupied by Mr. John Broster,²²¹ and that it was removed in 1884 to its present resting place—the Grosvenor Museum. This *pila* agrees in general dimensions and character with the examples found in Bridge Street, but, if it ever had an existence in Roman times, it must have been considerably altered in the middle

²¹⁹ *Journal* (old Ser.), i., *juxta* 54.

²²⁰ Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, 152.

²²¹ *ibid.* 156, quoting Brushfield (*Journal*, O.S., iii., 72). The house is Flookersbrook Cottage (*vide Sheaf*, 3rd S., xiii., 65).

ages. Watkin says that it was exhibited at a meeting of the British Archæological Association, and at once pronounced to be of mediæval origin. This *pila* or short pillar, it is suggested, may have belonged to the Franciscan friary.²²²

In the yard attached to No. 2, Stanley Place, there are a number of representations of cats, lions, and other animals carved in red sandstone and of more or less grotesque style. They are supposed to have come from Holy Trinity church when that structure was rebuilt between 1865 and 1869, but this theory, so far as can be ascertained, rests simply on the fact that the church in question is in the near locality, and that the carving presumably had an ecclesiastical origin. The fragments seem rather large for the ornamentation of, say, a string-course of a building of the decorated style of architecture, but it is more probable that they were from the church of the Grey Friars (on the site of which they are practically now preserved) than from old Trinity Church. It will be remembered that the grant, in 1528, of the nave and aisles of St. Francis' Church intimates that it had been at least partially rebuilt within what were then recent years.

To turn now to the recent discoveries. What remained of the Linen Hall, *i.e.*, the high enclosing walls and the stables and offices which were built against its inner face, together with the enclosed ground, was, two years ago, purchased by the Chester Race Company. The buildings were old and unsuited for present day requirements and, in the early months of 1920, the demolition of all the old buildings, including the enclosing walls, was commenced, preparatory to reconstruction of the stables on a more approved model.

The work was carried on gradually, and the northern half dealt with first. Nothing was discovered in this section but, it should be noted, the new buildings did not require deep foundations, and the excavations were therefore somewhat shallow.

²²² *ibid.*, 157.

In the summer, however, work was started on the other half of the enclosure, and this yielded interesting results. One of the first operations was the excavation of a drainage trench from a point a few yards east of the main entrance, in a direct line parallel with Stanley Street, to connect with an existing drain beneath a passage which runs behind houses abutting on Watergate Street. This trench falls from two feet below the surface to eight feet below. The excavation disclosed numerous cross walls at varying distances along its length, a section of curious tiled flooring at the northern end, numerous human remains along the southern half, and near the southern extremity a flat section of what appeared to be Roman cement, which had been cut through for building one of the cross foundation walls mentioned above.²²³

Subsequently an excavation for a sloping supplementary drain was made from east to west, which disclosed the existence of a considerable length of an ashlar wall, with a plain splayed plinth on the northern face.

South of the eastern extremity of this last mentioned trench, in process of excavation for the foundations of loose boxes, walls were found, in two instances surmounted by skilfully worked stones. The first consisted of a section of wall surmounted by a stone with a plain splay facing north. South-east of this there was another section of wall surmounted by stones with similar splays but facing east, and with a central one having an additional moulding for the base of a small pillar. At further points to the south of this the wall could be traced but no turning was discovered. The excavations shewed that originally the ground sloped to the west, and that when the Linen Hall was built the ground level on the west was raised about four feet.

The bulk of the remains were found within two feet of the surface, and it is to be greatly regretted that it was not

²²³ It has been suggested that the Franciscan friary was built on a Roman foundation (Watkin, 154 *et seq.*), as several Roman bricks and coins were discovered when the Linenhall was built (Hemingway, ii., 352). This is borne out by the recent find.

found possible to take advantage of this unique opportunity to trace more of the plan and other features of the Friary, but the present cost of labour, and anxiety lest any additional work should delay the reconstruction, prevented any steps in this direction.

12.—THE CHURCH AND PRECINCTS.

In considering the probable appearance of the friary of the Chester Franciscans, it should be remembered that ostentation of all description was deprecated, and indeed prohibited by the rules of the Order. It was considered that erections of wattle and daub, and boundaries defined by a simple ditch and paling were all that should be allowed, and there are instances of stone buildings being demolished by order of the provincial minister. If, therefore, this principle was strictly observed, nothing in the nature of a beautiful church or conventual building could have been created, and a modern writer has said that to the very last the friaries retained their "primitive, squat, low and meagre proportions."²²⁴ On the other hand, the statement of Matthew Paris, which has been quoted earlier, does not agree with this; neither does the accusation of Pope Clement V., which was denied by the friars. The pontiff said that they were "building beautiful churches and convents" which seemed "fitter for magnates than mendicants, and that they had church ornaments of greater value than those belonging to the great cathedrals."²²⁵

It is evident that the Grey Friars of Chester quickly departed from the primitive rule of the Order, if indeed they ever observed it, and that stone was largely used in the construction of their church and other buildings.

The precincts were surrounded by a substantial wall of stone, and were divided into eastern and western halves. The latter was a croft known later as "The Yacht Field." The eastern half contained the church and convent buildings, and a rough plan of this section (made in the middle

²²⁴ *Mon. Franc.*, i., xviii.

²²⁵ *ibid.*, ii., xxi.

of the seventeenth century) gives an idea of the arrangement, although it is extremely perplexing in some directions.²²⁶ This plan is of an oblong enclosure with the longer sides on the east and west and, for lack of something more reliable, must be taken as the basis of any description of the friary.

The ENTRANCE was near the southern end of Linenhall Street. Here there would be a gatehouse with lodging for the brother whose duty lay at this post, and also probably an almonry where the daily dole of broken meat was given to the poor. In close connection there would be an establishment which was the equivalent of the modern "casual ward."

Within there was an "alley" between the churchyard on the north and a plot of land on the south, of the use or appearance of which there is no record. The Alley led to what appears to have been the Outer Court of the Friary. This Court was bounded on the north by the Church, on the west by the Grey Friars' Croft, afterwards called Yacht Field, and on the south by certain buildings, in all probability including the bake house and the brew house.

THE CHURCH.

It is probable that the original church consisted simply of choir and nave, but, at the Suppression, the "great church"²²⁷ of St. Francis had, in addition, two side aisles and "a cross yle" on the south side. This does not appear to have been an additional south aisle, but a horizontal chapel built at right angles to the south aisle and not breaking the ground plan of the latter. In all likelihood the later church had been rebuilt in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries and the side aisles had then been added.²²⁸ "Such rebuildings were not uncommon in town churches, where the large naves were useful for preaching; while the number of lay burials in the churches,

²²⁶ Harl. MS., 2073, f. 92/2.

²²⁷ Morris, *op. cit.*, 459.

²²⁸ Cf. The Austin Friars' Church, London, and the Black Friars' Church, Norwich.

“ as well as the number of chantries founded in them by
 “ bequests, made the enlargement of the nave area neces-
 “ sary. A very large number of important and well-to-do
 “ people sought interment in the naves of friary churches”²²⁹
 “ . . . and although friary buildings did not compete
 “ in dignity with the great monastic churches of earlier
 “ foundation, they were often of some importance, and
 “ there were many large examples.”²³⁰

The excavations which were recently made brought to light what were assumed to be the eastern half of the foundations of the north aisle wall, small sections of the north and east walls of the chancel, and foundations of the north and south walls of the earlier church. It is probable that the nave and the two side aisles extended westward beyond Stanley Street, as it will be remembered that “ tiles, which had been portions of the flooring of a church, “ and buried bodies ” were dug up, in Stanley Street and beyond, on more than one occasion.

The Church and Choir were slated, and this points to a more or less accentuated ridged roof. The Chancel or Choir extended clear of the two side aisles. As to the latter, that on the north was “ ledyde in certen longe “ spoutes descendynge to a pane of the Cloyster lede into “ gutters of lede.” The South Aisle was also leaded and “ had certeyn gutters of lede.” The Cross Aisle was “ ledyde.”

As regards the interior of the Church, from various sources, such as the inventory of the furniture, vestments, etc., taken at the Dissolution, it is possible to obtain some idea.

In “ the gre ” or Choir there were :—

“ on ye autr a fayer tabull alybast’

ij autr clothes wt a frütlet & a steynyde clothe before
 ye aut’

ij candelsteks laten

An olde tabull alybast’

A lampe bason

A payer of organs

²²⁹ Cf. The Black Friars’ Church, London.

²³⁰ *Comm.* by Mr. A. H. Thompson, M.A., F.S.A.

A holywat' stope
 A sort of boks for ye q̄re of fryers vse
 An olde broken crosse laten
 In ye q̄re & chyrche ij sakerynge bells
 ij pylous on ye aut'."

At the sale of the furniture, etc., "a pore payer of orgeyns," doubtless those mentioned above, fetched 3s. 4d. The sacring bell was small, and hung inside the church, usually on the rood screen. It was rung at the end of the Consecration Prayer, or "prayer of sacring," and announced the completion of the act of sacrifice. A few of these bells still exist in their original positions.²³¹

In the body of the Church, the only articles recorded in the inventory are:—

"In ye chyrche iiij tabulls alybast'
 v steyned clothes olde."

For the ostensible purpose of defraying debts "all the "stufte of ye vestre and churche, w^t the kytchyn & oder "offyces by p'celles preysed and solde for iijli. iijs. viijd." In addition, "all the pore tables of ye awters in the quere " & churche w^t the pachemete & glasse, w^t the yron in the "same quere and churche solde for xlvjs. viij^d."

In churches of this character there were numerous subsidiary altars and chapels served by chantry priests. These altars were either endowed by benefactors or created in recognition of benefactions. Of such foundations in this church there is record of one endowed in 1293 by John de Baruue, chaplain, with the sustenance of a priest who was required to celebrate for ever for the salvation of the soul of the founder.

There must have been many monuments in the Church, but none have been found, and all that is known is that Robert Grosvenor of Hulme was buried here about the year 1286, and that an altar tomb, on or about which his arms were painted, was erected on the spot. This information was given as evidence at St. Mary's Chester, in January, 1386, when depositions were taken as to the respective rights of the Grosvenor and Scrope families to the

²³¹ *Church Bells*, by H. B. Walters, 88.

arms—azure, a bend or—claimed by both.²³² Many witnesses affirmed that they had seen these arms painted in the church at the place where Robert, the great-grandfather of the Grosvenor claimant, Sir Robert, had been buried about one hundred years earlier, as will be seen from the following extracts:—

Sir Laurence de Dutton, knight, 45, deposed that he had seen the arms painted anciently on an altar in the church of the Frers Menors of Chester where the great-grandfather of the said Sir Robert Grosvenor was buried about a hundred years ago, as he had heard.

Robert de Toft, 38, deposed that he had seen the arms there depicted on an ancient table.

John le Armurer, mayor of Chester, deposed that he had seen the arms there depicted of old on a table of an altar.

John de Camphurst (? Capenhurst), 35, deposed that he had seen the arms there painted of old as appeared to the view.

Randle Maynwaryng, 26, John le Clyf', of Macclesfield, esquire, 50, and Henry de Beeston, 44, all deposed that they had seen the arms there.

Geoffrey de Boidell, 38, deposed that he had seen the arms painted where the great-grandfather of the said Sir Robert was buried, as he had heard the Friars and many others say.

Robert de Dounes, 44, deposed that he had seen the arms on the wall in the church.

William Danyell, 50, deposed that he had seen the arms there painted of old on a table below an altar.

Roger de Moldeworth, 50, deposed that he had seen the arms painted of old on ancient tables in the church of the Frers Menors of Chester and of Tarven.

Hugh de Coton, the younger, 35, and John de Burgh's, 41, deposed that they had seen the arms painted there on an old table below an altar.

Of Plate there is little information, the only articles on record being those secured by the Bishop of Dover for the

²³² *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, ed. by Sir H. Nicholas.

King's use, namely :—

“ a lytell Chalys
a bonde of a lytyll maser
vj small spones.”

As was customary in these churches, the Tower probably stood between the Nave and the Chancel. In the inventory it is described as having “ the steple a sharpe spyar, “ lytyll lede w^t ij belles in ytt.” A representation of the tower and steeple is to be seen on Hollar's plan of Chester, but the impressive building shewn is clearly greatly exaggerated in size, as it was certainly not one of the outstanding features of Chester which the plan might lead one to imagine. The steeple appears to be in two sections, the lower one almost vertical, and the upper one a sharp cone. In Speed's map the tower is also represented, but a splayed section directly connects the tower with the lower and vertical section of the steeple, and the cone is not shewn at all. It may be inferred that the upper half of the steeple, possibly a timber erection, had fallen down or been removed in the years that elapsed between the execution of the two plans. A door is shewn in the western face of the tower. In 1588 there was in the precincts a pigeon house, and it seems probable that the tower had been converted to this use.

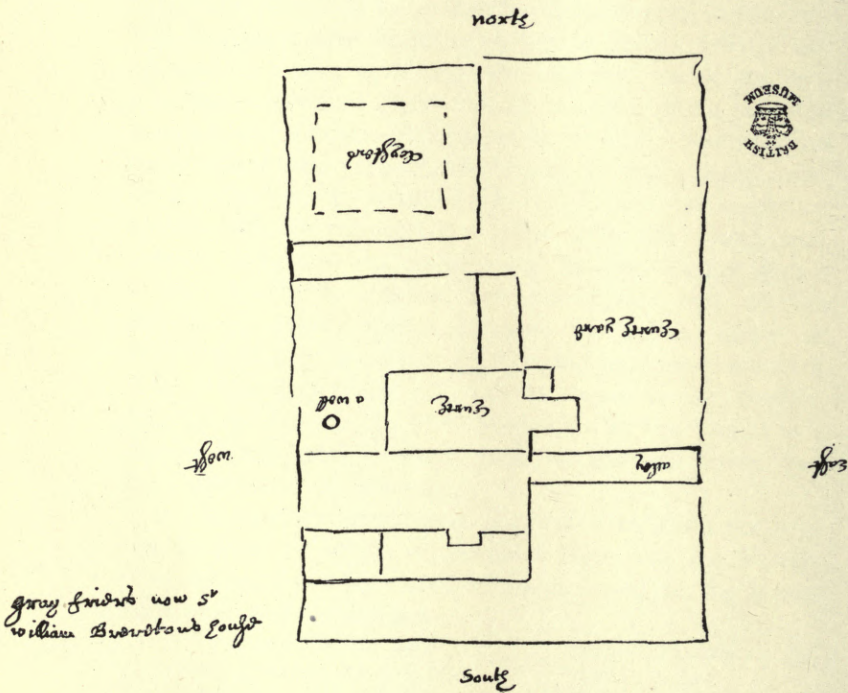
It has been suggested that the square building north of the Chancel, as shewn on Holme's plan, was the Vestry. The contents of this chamber are included in the inventory, and were as follows :—

“ xv chesabulls for ye pryst	iiij aut' clothes
xvj tenacles good & bad	one surples
vij albs good & bad	ij towells
vj amys	ij gret chests
vij copys	an olde senser.”

CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS AND LAND.

Friaries in towns were sometimes built on confined sites, but the arrangement of the Chester house generally, as shewn by Holme, is unusual, and the means of communication between the outer Court or Courts is by no means





Facsimile of plan of Friary drawn by R. Holme III.

clear. Further, the separation of the CLOISTER from the Church, and the inferred absence of buildings behind the north and west walks is, so far as can be learned, unique. Allowance must be made for variations, such as the situation of the Cloister on the north side of the Church (an example of which can be seen in the neighbouring cathedral), but, where indications of friary buildings remain, the plan is usually quite normal.²³³ It is therefore more than probable that when Holme made the plan demolitions and new buildings had caused the site to be involved and so difficult to make out that he merely sketched a rough indication of the position of the Cloister itself. It must accordingly be assumed that the south walk of the Cloister abutted on the Nave of the Church, and some confirmation of this will be found in the statement that the north aisle was "ledyde in certen longe spoutes descendynge to a paue" of the Cloyster lede into gutters of lede." The foundation walls recently uncovered lend further strength to this assumption.

Of the buildings ranged behind the Cloister walks, the CHAPTER HOUSE may be mentioned first. The grant of 1528 to the merchants and sailors of Chester is dated from this building, but there is no other reference to it. In accordance with the Benedictine plan, which was adopted by monastic orders generally, the Chapter House was in the eastern range of Cloister buildings, and it was entered by a door in the centre of the eastern walk. The Chapter Houses of the mendicant orders were not elaborate structures, and it is probable that the one at the Chester Grey Friary was on the ground floor and beneath the dormer.

The DORTER or Dormitory of a monastery was usually carried throughout the upper storey of the buildings behind the eastern Cloister, as far as the transept of the church, if it possessed one. It normally had a day stair connecting with the Cloister, and a night stair communicating directly with the transept. The dormer was usually

²³³ *E.g.*, the Black Friars at Bristol, now a Quaker School, where the dormer and frater ranges still remain.

divided into a series of cubicles with a window to each and with a passage down the centre. In Chester "the cellys" and "pt clossys in the dorter and cellehouse" were sold for ten shillings at the Dissolution.

Records are silent with regard to the important building known as the FRATER or Refectory, but, although Holme makes no allowance for it, there can be little doubt that it was situated in the northern range of Cloister buildings, opposite to the Church.

The account or rental states that there was "one close" and a stone wall round the same on the west of the "church" (*i.e.*, the Yacht field), and that "a certain house or chamber built on the east side of the close" was "called the ostrye," otherwise HOSTRY or Guest House. The general situation of this building is clearly indicated, and it might be looked for in the range of buildings behind the western cloister; a situation in which it was to be found in certain friaries. Mr. Thompson, however, does not favour this theory and writes as follows:—"I think that the existence of a hostry as a normal part of the western range in the monastic plan is rather doubtful. Where the abbot or prior in houses of monks and canons had his lodging on this side of the cloister, his hall, in which distinguished guests were entertained, was frequently on the upper floor of this range, or communicated with it; and there might be one or two guest chambers in the range, especially where (as in some monasteries) the great cellar was below the frater, and there would thus be more room for guests in the western building. But, for ordinary guests, the hostry was usually a building outside the cloister. In his reconstruction of the plan of the London Blackfriars, Mr. Clapham shews that there was a guest-house in the western range, but qualifies it as the *superior* guest-house, and, in speaking of monasteries generally, all that can be said with certainty is that the better class of guests were entertained and sometimes lodged, where there was accommodation, in the western range. In friaries such

“ a custom must have been of rather late growth, as the
 “ early friaries cannot have contemplated hospitality on
 “ the scale of the ordinary monastery.”

Frequently chambers were dedicated or assigned to notable individuals, and reference here occurs to a room known as “ le Bysshopp Chamber ” which, together with the Hostry and Common Kitchen, is described as being on the east side of the Yacht field, possibly in the western cloister range.

The COMMON KITCHEN was also situated on the eastern side of the Yacht Field, doubtless at the northern extremity of the western Cloister range, and near the Frater. It would be on the ground floor, a position which is to some extent confirmed by the statement that there was a chamber over it. At the Dissolution there were in “the Ketchyn” the following articles :—

“ A gret lede to stepe xx bushell malt
 A gret brasse pott
 iij other brasse potts & a posnet
 ij panys & a skelet
 ij brochys
 A payer of [? cowbyerns]
 A trevet & a gredyern
 ij sawsers
 A fryeyng pay
 A nesegyn & a ladyng rok
 A flesche hoke.”

As already mentioned, “ the stuffe . . . of the kytchyn
 “ & oder offyces ” was appraised and sold in lots.

The BUTTERY was probably situated somewhere in the north-western corner of the Cloister ranges, and near to the Kitchen and Frater. According to the inventory “ The Butt’ ” contained :—

“ ij stonds
 A cupborde
 A pipe to lay In bride
 ij pyps of lede.”

The INFIRMARY or “ Farmery ” of a conventual building was not only used by the sick, but was also the dwell-

ing of those religious who were too old or incapacitated to take part in the regular routine. The occupants were subjected to less rigorous discipline, and it was to some extent isolated from the Cloister. Sometimes the Infirmary was in the centre of the Outer Court, as at the Carmelite Friary at Hulne. At other times, however, it was situated at the south-east angle of the Cloister, near the Dorter, but with its buildings grouped round a subsidiary Cloister, as in the Dominican Friary of London. At Chester the Infirmary appears to have been in the eastern cloister range, as a house is mentioned as "abutting on the dorter on the east "part of le ffarmarye.'" This is an unusual situation, but, taking the above quotation into consideration, it is difficult to locate the Infirmary elsewhere.

The BREW HOUSE, together with the Bake House and Granary, was generally situated in the Outer Court, and, presumably, it is one of the buildings indicated in the south section of Holme's plan. At the Dissolution it contained :—

"A grett fornes & a mashynge combe.

A yele fat & a stone trowe

An almary

An hayer to drye on malt

ij ale barrels."

The contents of the BULTING HOUSE or Bake House are also given, as under :—

"ij knedyng turnels

A bultyng pype

A basket

A bultyng clothe

A redell

A meyle syffe."

A WELL is shewn by Holme immediately in front of the west door of the church. This would be somewhere behind the houses on the south side of Stanley Place, but nothing is known of it. During the present alterations at the Linen Hall a well was found almost in front of the main entrance and midway between Stanley Place and Linenhall Place. It was lined with old brick, wide, and very deep, and there were many feet of water at the bottom. This well was filled up.

The CHURCHYARD or Cemetery occupied a large plot of ground on the east of the Church and Cloisters, as indicated by Holme. It is not mentioned in the account of the Friary lands made at the Dissolution. Details of all the land and buildings are not given in the account, and possibly the Churchyard is included in what is not specified.

The CONVENT GARDEN and an ORCHARD were situated at the east side of the Church and Chancel, apparently abutting on the Churchyard.

In addition to the YACHT FIELD, to which several references have been made, there was a small toft on the east side of the church (query, the north-east or south-east corners of the precincts).

The rectangle which contained the site and lands of the Grey Friars has an approximate area of seven acres, and the bulk of this was included within the conventual boundaries; the northern section and part of the Linenhall Street frontage were, however, in other hands. There is no known record of the total extent of the Friary at the Dissolution, but, in 1622-3, Sir Peter Warburton died seized of "the site of the Grey Friars and four acres of "land appertaining thereto."²³⁴ Taking all the available evidence into consideration, it is evident that the domain of the Chester Friary was of considerable extent, but at the present time there is no visible trace of this important establishment, unless a red sandstone wall be excepted. This wall is seven feet high and has a ridged coping. It is situated on the eastern side of the continuation of Linenhall Place, and extends northwards for approximately fifty yards from a point nearly opposite the north-east corner of the Linen Hall. The wall is broken at intervals for the back doors to houses opening upon Linenhall Street. It is suggested that this is a portion of the eastern boundary wall of the Friary.

The following extract of a deed relates to some of the land between the eastern boundary of the Friary and Linen-

²³⁴ P.R.O., Chesh. Inq. p.m. 97.

hall Street :—

“ Grant from Robert Rogerson, mayor, to John Mascy son of Richard Mascy, late of Podynton, of a plot of ground with buildings thereon in the Crofts, lying in length between the stone wall of the Friars Minors of Chester and the channel (*canellam*) of the highway to the said Crofts, and in breadth between the land which Richard of Wirvyn held of the city and the land which Lawrence the Smith held of the city and being in length 22 cubits, which plot had of late been in the holding of Sir John Mainwaring, knight, and of which the mayor and commonalty are seised. Witnesses—John Cotingham, Roger Ledsham, Richard Raynford, Thomas Kent, Thomas Cotingham, alderman. Dated 2 Dec. 11 Edw. IV.” [1471]. Seal—an eagle’s head erased [Harl. MS. 2020, f. 403.]

For three hundred years the Chester headquarters of the Franciscans filled a recognised place in the religious life of the city. Then the times changed, and for the next three centuries the site has been the successive scene of agricultural, commercial, and sporting activities, and there is nothing to remind the wayfarer of the great brotherhood whose house once existed here. Close by, on the field where the live stock of the friars grazed, a residential quarter was created less than a century and a half ago, and the “ genteel modern buildings ”²³⁵ of mellowed red brick still stand on either side of a cobbled square. For long these houses were exclusively inhabited by the professional and leisured classes, but offices now encroach on the private residences more and more, and Stanley Place seems awaiting the next inevitable metamorphosis, which is at work on, what was until recently, the desolate shell of the once busy Linen Hall.



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CONGRESS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETIES,

November 28th, 1920.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ANCIENT EARTHWORKS AND FORTIFIED ENCLOSURES.

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ALBANY F. MAJOR, O.B.E., 30, The Waldrons, Croydon.

REPORT

OF THE

EARTHWORKS COMMITTEE.

THE archaeological world is beginning to resume its normal activities, though excavation work and the general work of Societies is hampered by the high cost of labour and printing. The Report from Ireland also shows that the disturbed state of that country has greatly affected archaeological work there.

Reports from England and Wales seem to show that the destruction and damage to earthworks, which it was feared would result from military entrenchments and other activities due to the war, have not materialized—at any rate to the extent anticipated. The only case brought to notice in the present Report is one of some slight damage to the ramparts of Poundbury, in Dorsetshire, which was used as a camp for German prisoners of war.

Two cases referred to under the heading of "Destruction" point to weaknesses in the "Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act," which detract very much from its usefulness. The case of Penmaenmawr, where the hill-fort is undergoing rapid destruction under a lease granted to a quarrying company, emphasises the fact that the Act contains no provision for the payment of compensation to the owners of any ancient monument, who would suffer pecuniarily if it were taken over by the public. In the other case, where Bokerley Dyke, on the borders of Dorsetshire and Hampshire, is suffering greatly from the burrowing of rabbits, it is not clear whether this would constitute "neglect" within the meaning of Clause 6 of the Act, which would justify the Ancient Monuments Board in taking action for the preservation of the dyke. There can be little doubt that the

dyke ought to be regarded as an ancient monument within the meaning of the Act ; but action in the case would no doubt be difficult, owing to the fact that two counties and some three owners are involved, and that the ravages of rabbits are very difficult to check.

As regards preservation, the Devonshire Association and the other bodies concerned are to be congratulated on the success of their efforts to save Dartmoor from exploitation and its antiquities from destruction. The appointment of a Committee by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society to watch over the ancient monuments of the county deserves to be mentioned and imitated. We may also congratulate the National Trust upon its acquisition of the "Giant" of Cerne Abbas. Although this is outside the classes of earthworks with which the Committee is concerned, its preservation seems deserving of mention.

Mr. G. Simpson's work on the Vallum of the Roman Wall shows that there is still much to be learned about monuments which have been studied for generations, while reports of unrecorded earthworks from Somersetshire and Wiltshire, and of fresh facts with regard to known earthworks in Hertfordshire and Sussex, show that there are discoveries still to be made in counties that have been worked for years.

In spite of labour difficulties, exploration has been fairly active, especially in Wales, where work has begun on the important site of Segontium. The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society has appointed a Committee and inaugurated a fund for excavation ; the Somerset Earthworks Committee, which was appointed just before the war broke out to carry out excavations of earthworks in the county, has at last been able to commence operations by the exploration of a long barrow at Murtry Hill ; and a Committee has been appointed to examine the site of the Roman station at Brockley Hill, Middlesex, though up to the present the work has not been begun.

Besides this, further work in Somerset, carried out by the Messrs. Bazell, has shown that a camp, which the Victoria County History describes as a hill converted into

a camp merely by scarping the sides, has, in fact, been defended by dry stone walls of great strength, though these have fallen into ruin and become overgrown with turf.

In addition to the above, work has been continued at Hengistbury Head, Margidunum, Ilkley, and elsewhere.

A monograph on The Earthworks of Bedfordshire, by Mr. Beauchamp Wadmore, has been published by subscription.

Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, Archaeology Officer of the Ordnance Survey and Hon. Secretary of the Congress, and Dr. Wm. Martin, F.S.A., late Hon. Secretary of the Congress, have been appointed members of the Committee.

The Committee has to deplore the loss of the late Mr. George Clinch, F.G.S., Assistant Treasurer of the Congress of Archaeological Societies and Librarian of the Society of Antiquaries, who rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of the Bibliography attached to its Reports and in many other ways. It has, however, to thank Mr. A. E. Steele, of the Staff of the Society of Antiquaries, for revising and amplifying the Bibliography attached to the present Report, as well as the secretaries of affiliated Societies and other correspondents who have furnished the information upon which the Report is based.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

PRESERVATION AND RECORD.

BERKSHIRE.—Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, F.S.A., reports the following unrecorded earthworks:—

———— Hampstead Marshall. Two “tumuli,” shown as such on the O.S. maps, in Hampstead Marshall Park, are wrongly marked. They are actually castle mounds.

———— Crookham. A square moat, the site of Crookham Manor.

CARMARTHENSHIRE.—A small earthwork situated on the right bank of the River Llŵchwr, near Llandennech, was reported to the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society at the Annual Meeting, on the 9th September, 1920.

———— Llanllwni. The statement in the last Report that felling of timber had shown that an earthwork at Llanllwni had no enclosure, and must be classed as a simple mound and ditch, has been found to be incorrect. Further clearance of timber has revealed the existence of a bailey, previously hidden by dense undergrowth, and the work remains classed as “mount and bailey.”

CUMBERLAND-NORTHUMBERLAND.—At a joint visit of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society and the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne to the Roman Wall in September, 1920, Mr. G. Simpson pointed out in the vallum, the earthwork which runs behind the stone wall at varying distances, a series of depressions which occur over considerable stretches at roughly regular intervals, and appear to correspond with a partial filling up of the fosse of the vallum in the line of the depressions, as though they had been caused by the construction of gaps in the vallum, with corresponding causeways over the fosse.

DEVONSHIRE.—The Devonshire Association, in co-operation with certain other societies and public bodies interested, successfully opposed the Bill for the Incorporation of the Dartmoor and District Hydro-Electric Supply Company, which proposed the exploitation of Dartmoor and the destruction of several of the pre-historic remains thereon.

DORSETSHIRE.—The “Cerne Giant,” a figure incised on the turf of a hillside at Cerne Abbas, has been presented to the National Trust for preservation.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—Mr. O. G. S. Crawford reports many unrecorded barrows, including fifteen Long barrows and fifty Round barrows, which are not marked in the O.S. maps (1903 edition).

HAMPSHIRE.—New Forest. Mr. Heywood Sumner, F.S.A., has found an oval earthwork in Sloden Wood, with spread and wasted banks, much hidden by fern and undergrowth. It was apparently an enclosure surrounding the sites of two pottery kilns.

———— Mr. O. G. S. Crawford also reports many unrecorded barrows from the County (including the Isle of Wight), both Long and Round.

HERTFORDSHIRE.—Mr. G. E. Cruickshank, F.S.A., and the Hon. Sec. have found traces of a sunken way, which appears to have run from the "Devil's Dyke" at Marford, on the River Lea, two miles from Wheathampstead, to "Beech Bottom," near St. Alban's, and to have continued thence to an apparently unrecorded bastion-like earthwork at St. Alban's close to the River Ver and opposite Verulamium. A sunken way appears to have run also from the ford at Marford for some distance to the north of the Lea.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE-SHROPSHIRE.—Mitchells Fold, a stone circle on Stapeley Hill, on the border of these two counties, has been handed over to the Office of Works, through the influence of Sir Offley Wake-man, for preservation as an ancient monument.

SOMERSETSHIRE.—The attention of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society has been called, through Dr. Philip Jones, to a circular earthwork, apparently unrecorded and not marked in the O.S. maps, situated a little to the east of Cranmore Tower, near Leigh-on-Mendip. The earthwork, which presents some unusual features, is close to the ancient road along the Mendips, which probably follows a pre-Roman trackway.

SUSSEX.—Mr. H. S. Toms reports that there are indications that an earthwork on Waterpit Hill, about a mile north of Falmer, which now consists merely of a bank and ditch, may be the remains of a large enclosure, probably an old manor boundary. Traces found by Mr. A. Hadrian Allcroft show that the enclosure may have had an original circuit of some seven miles.

———— Dr. Eliot Curwen reports that he has made representations concerning a fine stretch of what he regards as a "Celtic" Road with a Circus on Park Brow, Sompting, to the farmer who farms the land, with a view to staying further depredations by flint-pickers.

WILTSHIRE.—Mr. O. G. S. Crawford reports the following unrecorded earthworks, besides many barrows hitherto unrecorded :—

———— East Knoyle. A square moat.

———— Chicklade. A square camp in Great Ridge Wood.

WILTSHIRE.—North Savernake. A square earthwork, $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles S.E. of Marlborough, just N. of Furze Coppice House. The rampart and ditch outside it are exceptionally well preserved. There are traces of entrances on the E. and W. and a broad flat bank on the N. to the west of and in line with the northern vallum. There are reasons for supposing this work to be the "Evesbury" mentioned in the perambulations of Savernake Forest of A.D. 1300.

———— Collingbourne Kingston. An earthwork at Crowdon Clump, $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles S.E. of Easton village. This is a contour work whose vallum partly coincides with a small bank surrounding the clump, but is traceable inside the vallum and ditch on the N.W. and outside it on the N. and N.E. From its position it can be identified with an "eorthburg" mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon bounds of Great Bedwyn. (*See Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, June, 1921, p. 287.)

YORKSHIRE.—The Yorkshire Archaeological Society has appointed an Ancient Monuments Committee to watch over all the ancient monuments of the county, including earthworks.

———— The same Society has protested against the filling in of the ditch of an earthwork on Langton Wold, Malton. The owner referred the protest to the tenant, and no further damage has been done.

DESTRUCTION.

BEDFORDSHIRE.—Mr. Beauchamp Wadmore reports that the course of the brook "Til" at Yielden has been diverted so that the brook now flows within the outer moat of the earthwork known as "Yielden Castle."

CARNARVONSHIRE.—Penmaenmawr. The quarrying away of this hill-fort, to which attention was recently called in the public press, continues. Unfortunately, the terms of the lease granted to the quarrying Company make it impossible for the destruction to be stayed, except upon payment of compensation, which is not forthcoming.

DORSETSHIRE.—During the war, a large hutment for German prisoners-of-war was placed on the eastern slopes of Poundbury, the pre-Roman camp on the outskirts of Dorchester, and the camp itself was enclosed for the use of the prisoners. Captain J. E. Acland reports that, although there has been no serious mutilation of the ramparts, the banks appear to have been lowered or worn away in some places, either by the sentries or by wear and tear.

DORSETSHIRE-HAMPSHIRE.—With reference to last year's Report, which called attention to the damage being done to Bokerley Dyke, on the borders of these counties, by the burrowing of rabbits, Dr. Eric Gardner reports that the destruction is amazing. There are lengths of the dyke where the ditch is filled up nearly to the level with fresh white

chalk, while the corresponding rampart is so riddled that the crest is often only a thin coating of turf over a honeycombed area of vallum.

LANCASHIRE.—Stainton-in-Furness. The enclosure of a "British Settlement" at Stone Close, the gradual destruction of which by quarrying has been chronicled in various Reports, has now finally disappeared. (*See Reports for 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1916.*)

MIDDLESEX.—South Mimms. The last Report contained a description of an earthwork on Warren Gate Farm in this parish (not Warren Green). We regret to learn that the sunken way leading up to the work, which was recorded as a new discovery, has now been ploughed up and filled in.

SOMERSETSHIRE.—Mr. H. St. George Gray reports that the damage due to mining operations within and outside Cannington Park Camp, referred to in the Reports for 1916 and 1919, has now ceased. (*See also under Exploration.*)

EXPLORATION.

BERKSHIRE.—The excavations at Wayland's Smithy, begun in 1919 by Mr. H. G. W. d'Almaine, Town Clerk of Abingdon, under the direction of Mr. C. R. Peers, F.S.A., Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, and Mr. Reginald Smith, F.S.A., as mentioned in the last Report, were continued in 1920, by permission of the Earl of Craven, who kindly provided the labour. The attempt to explore a famous legendary site has met with considerable success, and it is now clear that a Long barrow, since denuded, originally covered the cruciform chamber, many stones of which are still standing. The barrow seems to have had squared ends, and remains of a revetment were traced along both sides. The brushwood was cleared and three beech trees felled, as their roots were interfering with the monument. Many of the stones that enclosed the mound were found underground and left uncovered. A report by Mr. Peers and Mr. Reginald Smith, based on a plan by the Rev. C. Overy, was presented to the Society of Antiquaries in December, 1920, and the human bones discovered in the chambers on the edge of the barrow have been examined by Mr. Dudley Buxton.

CARNARVONSHIRE.—Excavations undertaken at Bryn Gefeilian, near Capel Curig, Bettws-y-coed, by members of the Nant Conway Antiquarian Society, have revealed an early Roman fort, which is being explored.

————— Excavations at Craig Lwyd, Penmaenmawr, have resulted in the discovery of a manufactory of stone axes.

————— The excavation of the Roman fort at Segontium has been begun by the Committee formed for the purpose, as mentioned in the last Report. The ditches and pits outside the fort on the west side are at present under exploration.

CARNARVONSHIRE.—The Cambrian Archaeological Association is continuing the exploration of the hill-fort at Penmaenmawr in advance of the quarrying, which is gradually destroying it.

DENBIGHSHIRE.—The hill fort of Dinorben, Kinmell Park, near Abergele, is being explored by the Abergele and District Antiquarian Association.

DORSETSHIRE.—Dorchester. The making of paths and drains in the German prisoners' camp at Poundbury brought to light several ancient burials, *viz.*, two large stone coffins, one lead coffin, and one burial of a child with a simple bronze torc round the neck-bone, now in the Dorset County Museum. The stone coffins remain *in situ*, and are reported to have contained no grave goods.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, on the initiative of the President (Mr. J. E. Pritchard, F.S.A.), has started an Excavation Fund, and appointed a Committee to carry out systematic excavation work in the county, in order to throw light upon the origin of the camps and tumuli, and to examine the Roman sites.

HAMPSHIRE.—Barley Pound, a Norman earthwork in the parish of Crondall, has been investigated by a Committee of the Farnham Field Club, under the presidency of Brigadier-General White, of Farnham.

————— Hengistbury Head. These excavations have been continued at intervals during the past year by Mr. H. St. George Gray on behalf of the owner, Mr. H. Gordon Selfridge. A considerable amount of trenching has been carried out on the west side of the new "Nursery Garden" and a little south of the shore of Christchurch Harbour, in a part which had been but slightly examined by the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries in 1911-12. Structurally not much of interest has been brought to light except drains cut into sand some $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface, some pits, and a couple of small hearths. The finds cover the late prehistoric and Roman periods. Hundredweights of pottery of various types have been collected; bronze fibulæ, two Gaulish coins, Kimmeridge shale, portions of querns and crucibles, spindlewhorls, flint implements, and one or two nearly complete pots are among the specimens found.

————— A Twin barrow and a Round barrow at Roundwood, near Laverstoke, have been examined by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford on behalf of the owner, Sir William Portal, F.S.A. Unfortunately the Twin barrow had been opened before, and nothing further was found in it, while the Round barrow contained only a cremated interment with no other relics.

MIDDLESEX.—Following out a suggestion made in the Report for last year, the British Archaeological Society, the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, and the South Eastern Union of Scientific Societies have appointed a Committee to consider the question of ex-

cavations at Brockley Hill on the site of the Roman station of Sul-loniacaë. The Committee has not yet taken any action.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—Margidunum. Owing to the excessive cost of labour, excavations have been continued only to a limited extent. Dr. F. Oswald has, however, personally explored a portion of the site, and has discovered the flooring—an inferior *Opus Signinum*—of third to fourth century buildings, situated upon the filled in western ditches of the station.

SOMERSETSHIRE.—Buckland Dinham. Following a complete survey of the remains of a mound and stones at Murtry Hill, Orchardleigh, in 1915, excavations were conducted on the site from 28th September to 8th October, 1920, by the Somerset Earthworks Committee (Mr. H. St. George Gray, director; Dr A. Bulleid, hon. sec.). The standing stones of oolitic limestone at the east end were found to rest on rock at a depth of only 1·5 feet below the surface. It had previously been stated that these stones, the largest standing 10 feet above the present surface, penetrated the ground to a depth equal to the height of the stones above the surface. (*Proc. Som. Arch. Soc., Vol. xxi., Part 1, p. 42.*) The remains proved to be those of a much mutilated chambered Long barrow, and some of the finds indicated that the place had been overrun by Romano-Britons. Two large and some three dozen smaller stones (glaucanite sandstone), formerly forming part of the chambers, were uncovered. A full record has been made and a report will be issued later.

———— Cannington Park Camp. Further trial excavations carried out at this camp by Mr. C. Bazell, assisted by Mr. M. B. Bazell, have shown definitely that the original fortifications consisted of dry stone walling, carefully constructed, and of great strength. Quantities of shore pebbles, apparently collected for use as sling-stones, were found, as well as late-Celtic pottery and a human skeleton buried in a contracted position. As regards the latter finds, Mr. H. St. George Gray reports that the most interesting piece of pottery is an ornamented handle of rare form, a little larger but precisely of the same type as one found in the Glastonbury Lake Village. (*Plate lxxxi., No. F213, of the monograph on the subject.*) Mr. Gray found that the tibiae of the skeleton were decidedly platycnemic, giving a latitudinal index of 600. Besides the finds at the camp, Mr. Bazell has found a few objects among the burials on the Quarry Hill opposite, which are obviously battle burials, among them a flint arrow-head and an iron spike.

SUSSEX.—Excavations have been carried out by Dr. Eliot Curwen and Mr. E. C. Curwen at a pre-Roman village site on Rewell Hill, near Arundel. (See under Bibliography.)

WILTSHIRE.—The pre-Roman village site (Early Iron Age) at All Cannings Cross, near Devizes, has been further explored by Mr. and Mrs. B. H. Cunningham; among other finds a fibula of the La Tène period was discovered, enabling them to date the site.

YORKSHIRE.—The work of excavation at the Romano-British coast-guard fort at Goldsborough, near Whitby, referred to in the last Report, has now been completed.

———— The Roman fort at Ilkley has been further excavated this summer by Messrs. A. M. Woodward and P. W. Dodd. A granary and what was probably the Commandant's house have been uncovered, a larger and a smaller hypocaust having been found in connection with the latter. The finds of pottery are similar to those of last year, and the coins range over the same period. No tiles bearing stamps have been found. It is hoped to continue the excavations next year.

IRELAND.

Mr. T. J. Westropp reports as follows :

PRESERVATION AND RECORD.

Owing to the very disturbed state of Ireland for so many years, local bodies seem averse to undertaking the preservation of early earthworks, or ring walls. Some forts have been cleared of trees of late years, but Mr. Westropp is not aware of any unrecorded earthworks being brought to light.

DESTRUCTION.

Mr. Westropp has seen some slight cases of injury here and there, but there is no case of destruction within his knowledge.

EXPLORATION.

Co. DOWN.—Excavations have been undertaken in the great fort of Downpatrick, about the age and character of which much controversy has arisen. Pottery, probably of feudal times, has been found, but—so far as Mr. Westropp is informed—nothing very definite to date its origin, as apart from its occupation, has been unearthed.

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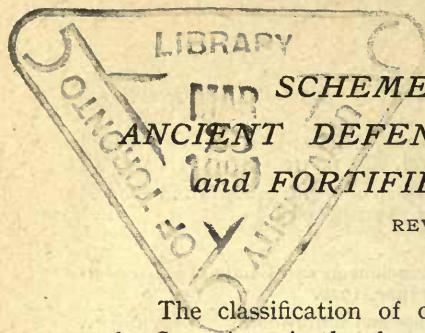
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ALBANY F. MAJOR,

Hon. Secretary to the Committee,

BIFROST, 30, THE WALDRONS,

CROYDON.



SCHEME for Recording
ANCIENT DEFENSIVE EARTHWORKS
and FORTIFIED ENCLOSURES.

REVISED 1910.

The classification of defensive works recommended by the Committee in the above Scheme stands as follows:—

- A. Fortresses partly inaccessible by reason of precipices, cliffs, or water, defended in part only by artificial works.
- B. Fortresses on hill-tops with artificial defences, following the natural line of the hill.
Or, though usually on high ground, less dependent on natural slopes for protection.
- C. Rectangular or other enclosures of simple plan (including forts and towns of the Romano-British period).
- D. Forts consisting only of a mount with encircling moat or fosse.
- E. Fortified mounts, wholly or partly artificial, with remains of an attached court or bailey, or showing two or more such courts.
- F. Homestead moats, consisting of simple or compound enclosures formed into artificial islands by water moats.
- G. Enclosures, mostly rectangular, partaking of the form of F, but protected by stronger defensive works, ramparted and fossed, and in some instances provided with outworks.
- H. Ancient village sites protected by walls, ramparts, or fosses.
- X. Defensive or other works which fall under none of the above headings.

Copies of the Scheme, containing 43 plans illustrating the various classes of Earthworks, can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary of the Earthworks Committee. Price 1/- each, 7/6 for 12 copies.

NOTE.—If any Society or individual has spare copies of the Committee's Reports for 1908, and earlier years, the Hon. Secretary would be very much obliged if they would let him know, as copies are very scarce and much sought after.



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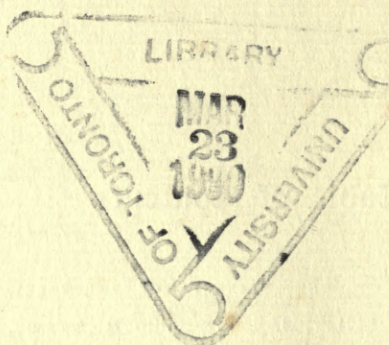
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The Council of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society desire it to be known that the Authors of any Papers printed in the Society's Journal are alone responsible for the statements or opinions contained in such Papers.

This Volume has been edited and indexed by the Rev. F. G. Slater, M.A., Hon. Editorial Secretary, with the exception of the Catalogue of Roman Coins, edited and indexed by the Rev. J. T. Davies, M.A.



Family Memoranda of the Stanleys of Alderley, 1590-1601 and 1621-1627.

By PHILIP H. LAWSON, A.R.I.B.A.

(Read 20th January, 1920).



THE Stanley MS. now exhibited is preserved in the Earwaker collection in our Library. It appears to have been compiled for and by successive members of the family of Stanley of Alderley during the last quarter of the 16th century and contains, in addition to the *Memoranda*, miscellaneous notes relating to the city and county, transcripts of charters, early deeds, pleas and land tenures ; the last-named in two series, under the townships in the Palatinate alphabetically arranged. The volume comprises about 223 folios, and has been bound in the calf covers of an earlier volume, on the sides of which are depicted in highly decorative embossed borders the arms and badges of King Henry VIII., including the pomegranate, the badge of his Queen, Catherine of Aragon.

The entries from 1590 to 1601 appear in double columns in the handwriting of Thomas Stanley, of Alderley, who was knighted at Worksop Manor, 21st April, 1603, and who died 21st November, 1605, aged 28. In view of his age and the character of the writing, which, by the way, is often difficult to decipher, it is almost certain that the earlier portion was written a few years after the events recorded took place.

I will now quote the *Memoranda*, giving notes where necessary. The square brackets are mine, and, unless

otherwise stated, omissions are due to the MS. having perished.

Folio 212.

Ao 1590 in ye sommer dyed Sr Arthur Manwaringe [of Ightfield, co. Salop], Sr Geo : Clyve [of Huxley], ye La : Smyth¹ & Hen : Stanley of Croshall.

¹ Either Jane, daughter of Sir Piers Warburton, of Arley, relict (1) of Sir William Brereton, of Brereton, and (2) of Sir Lawrence Smyth, of Hough; or Anne, daughter of Sir William Brereton, of Brereton, wife of Sir Thomas Smyth, of Hough.

Tho : Stanley of Alderley esq. dyed at Alderley the first of August 1591 & was there buried. Ye same yeare dyed Mrs Calverley² of ye Lea, Mrs Warburton³ of Arley, Mrs Venables⁴ of Kinderton, Mr Leicester⁵ of Tabley, Mrs Manwaringe⁶ of Peever.

² Mary, daughter of Sir Ralph Leycester, of Toft, wife of Hugh Calveley, of Lea.

³ Mary, daughter of Sir John Holcroft, wife of Peter Warburton, of Arley.

⁴ Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Brereton, first wife of Thomas Venables, of Kinderton.

⁵ Adam Leycester, of Nether Tabley.

⁶ Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Fitton, of Gawsworth, first wife of Randle Mainwaring, of Peover, who was afterwards knighted.

The same yeare Mr Smyth & Mr Manwaringe of Peever made duple mariage with yr [their] children.⁷

⁷ Lawrence Smyth, son of [Sir] Thomas Smyth, of Hough, married at Great Budworth, 31 August, 1591, Anne, daughter of [Sir] Randle Mainwaring by Margaret Fitton, and Mainwaring's son Randle married Jane, the sister of Lawrence Smyth.

Mr William Bromley of Deerefold dyed in London about [blank] 1592.

Hen : erle of Derby dyed at Newyke [Newark?] ye [blank] day of [blank] Anno dni 1593 & was buried at Ormskirke.⁸

⁸ The place of his death does not appear to be given elsewhere. He died 25 September, 1593.

Peter Warburton⁹ was called by writte to be serieant at Law in michellmas Tearme 1593.

⁹ Of Northwich and Chester, a kinsman of the Arley family by illegitimate descent; afterwards appointed a Justice of the Common Pleas, and knighted. He acquired extensive estates by purchase, and appears to have come into possession of the sites of the Grey and Black Friars, Chester, including the mansion in Watergate Street known later as Stanley Palace, upon his third marriage in September, 1599, with Alice, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Peter Warburton, of Arley, by whom, however, he had no issue. Most, if not all, of his Chester property, including Stanley Palace, became the inheritance of the family at Alderley through the marriage of Elizabeth, his daughter and heiress, with the diarist. It is probable that it was he, and not his namesake of Arley, who, in 1589, resided in the Black Hall in Watergate Street, a half-timber mansion in the Black Friars precincts (since demolished) and now the site of the Western Command Headquarters. (Ormerod ii., 705; *Sheaf*, 1st ser., i., 246). This property was owned later by the Grosvenors, on whom it may have devolved upon the second marriage of the Judge's heiress with Sir Richard Grosvenor, although that gentleman's first wife was a daughter of Thomas Wilbraham, of Woodhey, who with his father-in-law, Peter Warburton, of Arley, had held an interest in the friary lands.

1594

Sr Tho : Egerton¹⁰ was made Mr of ye Rowles & Chamberlaine of Chester about ester.

¹⁰ Illegitimate son of Richard Egerton, of Ridley. He became Lord Chancellor of England; was elevated to the peerage as Baron Ellesmere, 1603, and later, in 1616, to the dignity of Viscount Brackley. Ancestor of the Dukes of Bridgewater and the Earls of Ellesmere.

Fer : erle of Derby dyed at Lathum ye [blank] [16th] day of Aprill 1594 & was buried at Ormskirke.

This yeare about midsommer Sr Wm Russell went Lo : Deputy into Irelande.

William erle of Derby married ye La : Eliz : Vere da : of ye erle of Oxford about Xmas this yeare.

1595

Ran : Stanley esq. [the diarist's father] captain of ye Isle of Man went into Man ye last of Aprill 1594 & dyed there ye xvijth of June 1595 & was yr buried at Kirkmalew. The same yeare dyed The Lady Holcrof & lykewyse M^{rs} Holcroft & both buried at Weverham ye one of ye one daye ye other of ye other daye.¹¹

¹¹ Juliana, daughter and heiress of Nicholas Jennings, alderman of London, widow of Sir Thomas Holcroft, of Vale Royal; and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Fitton, of Gawsworth, wife of Thomas Holcroft. Ormerod cites the *Whitegate* registers for their burial there, 25th and 26th August, 1595, respectively.

Hen : erle of Huntington dyed this yeare in ye winter. Alderley milnes were begune in 1595. Sr Tho : Egerton¹⁰ was made Lo : Keeper in easter tearme 1596. Tho : Stanley esq. married Eliz : Warburton⁹ at Holford ye xiiijth of Sept : 1596, about ye same tyme Mr Ric : Egerton mar : Sr Ran : Breretons daughter.¹²

¹² Mary, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Randle Brereton, of Malpas, married to [Sir] Richard Egerton, of Ridley.

Sr Hu : Cho : ye elder dyed at Cho : ye vijth of January¹³ & was buried at Malpasse ye [blank] day of febr : 1596.

¹³ Helsby states that he died on the 16th January, and Ormerod that he was buried 31st January, 1596.

Ye same yere betwixt Xtmas & shrovetide dyed Mrs Egerton of Owlton at Owlton & was buried at Budworth.¹⁴

¹⁴ Margaret, daughter of Sir Rowland Stanley, of Hooton, first wife of [Sir] John Egerton. Helsby states that she was buried at Little Budworth, 12th February, "1597-8"; but, query, 1596-7.

M^{rs} Marbury of Marbury dyed at Marbury about St Andrewes tyde.¹⁵

¹⁵ Eleanor, daughter of Peter Warburton, of Arley, first wife of Thomas Marbury, and sister of Alice, third wife of Sir Peter Warburton, of Grafton.

Dorso.

A^o 1597.

ye La : brereton¹⁶ of Brereton dyed about [blank] a^o 1597.

¹⁶ Margaret, daughter of Sir John Savage, of Rocksavage, and wife of Sir William Brereton, afterwards Baron of Leighlin, in Ireland. She died 7th April, 1597, and was buried at Brereton, 9th May following.

This yeare dyed Ja : Manwaringe of Croxton & his wyfe [Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Mainwaring, of Carincham.] Tho : Delves married Mary Wilbraham [daughter of Thomas Wilbraham, of Woodhey] upon munday in ye easter weeke (being ye xxviiijth of March) a^o 1597 at Tilston.

Bushop Billet dyed about this tyme.¹⁷

¹⁷ Hugh Bellot, D.D., Bishop of Chester, died 13th June, 1596, (not 1597,) and was buried in the chancel of Wrexham church (Morris, *Diocesan History of Chester*).

Tho : Stanley sonne of Tho : Stanley of Alderley esq. was borne at Alderley upon Tewesday ye last of Maye 1597 betweene a xjen & xij of ye Clocke, & was Christened at Alderley church ye [blank] day of June next after, Sr Hu : Cholmeley & Mr Warburton of Arley his godfathers & Mrs Wilbraham¹⁸ of Woodhey godmother.

¹⁸ Mary, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Peter Warburton, of Arley, second wife of Thomas Wilbraham. She was sister of Eleanor and Alice (note 15).

Sr Will : Russell came forth of Irland about this tyme.

This yeare about St James tyde Sr Edw : Stanley was slayne in Ireland in a pryvate quarell. About midsomer this yeare my uncle Jo : Stanley dyed in London.

Sr Jo : Savage beinge then maior of Chester dyed at Rocksavage a litle before Xtmas & was very Ho : buried at Macclesfield ye 23 of Ja : next followinge 1597.

The same yeare in Ja : Mr Sneyde of Bradwall dyed theare.¹⁹

¹⁹ William Sneyde, son and heir of Ralph Sneyde, of Bradwell, Willaston, and Keele. He died in his father's lifetime. The year of his death is not elsewhere recorded.

Alderley milnes were finished before Xtmas this yeare.

There was a parliament this yeare in mighells Tearme, Sr Wm : Brereton & Sr Tho : Egerton knights for Cheshire, Mr Serient Warburton & Mr. Wm : Brocke,²⁰ burgesses for Chester.

²⁰ Probably the younger son of Alderman Robert Brocke, of Upton and Chester, who became a freeman in the mayoralty of David Lloyd, 1593-4. The name is erroneously given as Brooke in some lists.

This yeare Dr Vauhan Bishop of . . . came into ye Cuntry about²¹

²¹ Rotted away. Richard Vaughan, D.D., Bishop of Bangor, where he followed Hugh Bellot in 1596, now succeeds the same prelate at Chester, April, 1597. (Morris, *op. cit.*)

About St James tyde Mrs Waran of pointon dyed & About mighellmas He married Mrs Susan Bouth.²²

²² This entry and the next are written in the margin. "Mrs. Waran" was Ann, daughter of William Davenport, of Bramhall, second wife of Edward Warren, of Poynton. His third wife, Susan, daughter of Sir William Booth, of Dunham Massey, after his decease in 1609, married John Fitton, of Chester, and died in 1636.

This yeare ye Countess of Derby came & Mr Trafford

A° 1598.

Mary Stanley borne at Alderley ye 20 : of May beinge fryday, betwixt 4 & 5 of ye Clocke in ye morninge & Christned at Alderley. Hen : Delves esq. Godfather ye La : Mary Cholmeley and Mrs Brereton of Handford Godmothers.

The Gorsty Knoll & ye blacke fild in farnell was marled this yeare after Whytsontyde.

The Lo : Burleigh Lo : Threasurer dyed ye [blank] day of [blank] this year & was buried at Westminster.

Mr Damporte of Bromall's sonne mar : Mr Wilbrams da : betwixt migh : & xtmas.²³

²³ William, son of William Davenport and nephew of the above Mrs. Warren, and Frances, daughter of Thomas Wilbraham, of Woodhey.

This yeare aboute 3 weekes after Mighellmas I removed from Ald: to Dranfield wuddus in Darbyshire.²⁴

²⁴ Dronfield Woodhouse, the home of his wife's mother, Margaret, daughter and sole heir of George Barlow. Stanley sold his wife's Derbyshire estates in 1602, and purchased the manor and advowson of Nether Alderley, together with an estate there.

In Mighells tearme Roger Manweringe dyed in London.²⁵

²⁵ Perhaps Roger Mainwaring, of Nantwich, gent., sixth son of Humphrey Mainwaring. (See Hall's *Nantwich*).

This yeare about Xtmas dyed Mr Brereton of Tatton.²⁶

²⁶ Richard Brereton, died 17th December, 1598.

About ye same tyme lykewyse dyed Mr Morton [John Moreton] of Moreton.

About ye same tyme also dyed Mr Lawton of Lawton.²⁷

²⁷ John Lawton, died 8th March, 1598-9.

This yeare in Candlemas Mr Justice Kingsmill was made one of ye Judges of ye common pleas.

This yeare upon Mathyas at night my chapele in Alderley church was Cut downe whereupon greate sutes arise betwixt Sr Edw: Fitton & me.²⁸

²⁸ The manor and advowson of Nether Alderley belonged at this time to Fitton, but the Stanleys claimed a right to a private chapel since the burial there, in 1591, of the diarist's grandfather.

In ye begininge of lent this yeare Mr Davemport of Davemport dyed at Damport.²⁹

²⁹ John Davenport, died 4th March, 1598-9.

Mrs Elisabeth Warburton wyfe to Mr Serient Warb: dyed in London ye 24th of March this yeare.

Folio 213.

A^o 1599.

This yeare about easter ye erle of Essex went Lo: liefetenant into Ireland & came from theare a litle before mighellmas after & then was Comitted to my Lo: Kerys Custody where he remayned sike that winter.

This yeare ye Lady Egerton dyed at Asbury about easter & was buried theare.³⁰

³⁰ Mary, daughter of Sir Richard Grosvenor, of Eaton, widow of Sir Richard Egerton, of Ridley. Her will, proved in 1599, is at Chester.

Jo : Frechvile mar : about this tyme.

This yeare about Whytsontyde ye Lo : Buckhurst was made Lo : Threasurer & Sr Robert Cassell Mr of ye wards. This yeare in midsommer tearme Mr Ra : Tilston ye Lawer dyed in ye Temple at London & there was buried.³¹

³¹ Ralph Tilston, of Huxley, died 30th June, 1599.

About this tyme Tho : Sta : had his pardon.

This yeare about St Ja : tyde Mr Barron of Kinderton married Margret³² da : of Sr Cotton Gargrave.

³² Second wife of Thomas Venables. Ormerod calls her Anne.

About ye same tyme Sr Coniers Clifford & Sr Alex : Ratcliffe were slayne in Ireland.

Soone after that Sr Tho : Egerton³³ dyed in Ireland & was brought in to England & buried at Dodleston.

³³ Eldest son of the Lord Keeper, by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ravenscroft, of Bretton.

Mr Serient Warburton married Mrs Allice Warburton ye [blank] of Sept :

Hen : Delves borne at Dudd : ye [blank] daye of [blank],

Jo : Done³⁴ borne at Tilston ye September. Jo : Poolle slayne this y :

³⁴ Son and heir of [Sir] John Done, of Utkinton. See his funeral certificate, 1630. *Lancs. and Chesh. Record Soc.*, Vol. vi.

This yeare about [blank] Wm Brereton of Handford mar : Mrs Margret Holland da : to Mr Holland of Denton.³⁵

³⁵ The parents of Sir William Brereton, Bart., Commander-in-Chief of the parliamentary forces in Cheshire and Staffordshire during the Civil War.

This yeare Mr Wilbraham dweltt in Chester.

Margret Stanley borne at Waddus ye 1... of Febr: beinge monday early.

Idem.

Sr Ric: Shutleworth dyed in Lankeshire betwixt mighellmas & Xtmas this yeare.

Mr P. Lighes wyfe³⁶ dyed sonne after midsommer this yeare.

³⁶ Probably Katherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Venables, Baron of Kinderton, widow of Peter Legh, son and heir of Sir Peter Legh, of Lyme, who *ob. v. p.*

Sr Jo: Savage was made alderman of Chester this yeare in beards³⁷ place.

³⁷ Perhaps "Bird's," and in place of Alderman Richard Bird.

Davy Lloyd dyed this yeare also.³⁸

³⁸ Alderman David Lloyd, of Chester, draper, brother of Bishop Lloyd.

A° 1600

This yeare ye new well in ye forest of Delamere became famous & much repaired unto.

This yeare betwixt easter & Whytesontyde Mrs Leake of Sutton dyed there.

Mr Massey of Puddington dyed this sommer.³⁹

³⁹ George Massey, buried at Burton, 15th September, 1600.

Ric: Grosvenor married Lettice Cholmeley at Cho: in [blank], this yeare with whom he had in ready payment m *li* [£1000].

The same tyme at mighellmas Robert Cho: & Hatton [*sic*]⁴⁰ went with him to Oxford.

⁴⁰ Query, Sir Christopher Hatton, who married Alice, eldest daughter of Thomas Fanshaw, of Dronfield, co. Derby—the parents of Lord Hatton.

About St Ja: tyde this yeare Mr Justice Glanveile brake his necke & dyed.

About mighellmas this yeare Sr Roland Stanley mar : one Brownes da : of Buerton.⁴¹

⁴¹ Elizabeth, daughter to Richard Browne, third wife of Sir Rowland Stanley, of Hooton, who was aged about 82 at this time. *Vis. Cheshire*, 1613.

The Lo : Keeper married Alice Countese of Derby.⁴²

⁴² Widow of Ferdinando, Earl of Derby, and third wife of Sir Thomas Egerton.

In mighellmas tearme Mr Sargeant Warburton was called to be one of ye Judges of common pleas.

About this tyme he purchased Anderton of Mr Sutton & in som[mer?] he purchased ye tythes of gilden Sutton of Mr Bunbury.

A litle before mighellmas all m . . . were end betwixt Sr Ed : Fitton at Alderley.

Mr Tho : Marbury mar. . . Arderne⁴³ about . . .

The Lo : . . . dyed . . .

⁴³ Frances, daughter of John Ardern of Hardern, second wife. (See note 15).

Dorso

Ric : Wilbraham [of Woodhey] mar : Grace Savage⁴⁴ about Xtmass.

⁴⁴ Daughter of Sir John Savage, of Rocksavage.

Idem.

Law : Delves⁴⁵ was borne at Dud :

⁴⁵ Son of Thomas Delves, of Doddington, later Knight and Baronet. The birth of his elder brother Henry is recorded under 1599, *ante*.

About Xtmass this yeare Mrs Mary Fitton⁴⁶ ye mayd of Ho : proved voyd of honesty & for her great bellys sake was lycensed to leave waytinge & to take her ease.

⁴⁶ Daughter of Sir Edward Fitton, of Gawsworth, Kt., who died at London in 1606. The Stanleys and Fittons do not appear to have been on very good terms with each other. *Vide ante*, under 1598.

Essex rebellion was begunn upon Sunday ye viijth of February about xj^{en} of ye Clocke in aforenoone & continued

till xj^{en} of ye Clocke at night for which he and Southam⁴⁷ had their tryall & were condemned ye xixth of ye same & Essex was beheaded in ye tower ye xxvth daye of ye same monthe.

⁴⁷ Henry, Earl of Southampton, the friend and patron of Shakespeare. His sentence was commuted, and on the union of Scotland with England, King James restored him to favour. But see forward, under 1601, where he is erroneously stated to have died in the Tower.

Upon ye vth of March followinge Sr Xtopher Blunt,⁴⁸ Sr Charles Danvers,⁴⁹ Sr Jo: Davies⁵⁰ Sr Gilla Merike⁵¹ & Cuffe⁵² (Essexes secr:) had their tryall & were condempned in ye Kings bench before very Ho: Commissioners where I stooode xiiij ho:

⁴⁸ Third son of James, Lord Mountjoy, knighted in Flanders, 1588, gentleman of the horse to Queen Elizabeth, M.P. for co. Stafford, 1593 and 1597-8.

⁴⁹ Eldest son of John Danvers, of Dauntsey, Wilts, knighted 1588, M.P. for Cirencester 1586-7, 1588-9, of the Middle Temple, 1598, colonel in Ireland in 1599 under the Earl of Essex.

⁵⁰ Son of John Davies, of London; was an eminent mathematician, knight banneret for services at the taking and sacking of Cadiz, 15th September, 1596, surveyor of the ordnance, 1598; condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered for his complicity in the rebellion, but pardoned; purchased an estate in Pangbourne, Berks; died at Berecourt, 14th May, 1625, and was buried in the chancel there.

⁵¹ Eldest son of Rowland Meyrick, Bishop of Bangor. The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* states that he was hanged together with Cuffe on 13th March, and not on the 9th as stated by Stanley, and that he suffered with a most undaunted resolution.

⁵² Henry Cuffe, son of Robert Cuffe, of Donyatt, Somerset; M.A., Oxon., Fellow of Merton College, 1586, Regius Professor of Greek, 1590-97, Proctor, 1594, private secretary to the Earl of Essex.

Upon ye ixth of March Merike & Cuffe were hanged drawn & quartered at Tyburne.

Upon ye [blank] of March [18th March] followinge Blunt & Danvers were beheaded at ye Tower Hill.

I set from Dudington towards [Lon]don upon Fryday ye

xxvijth of [Feb]ruary & came out of London [ye] xvth of March & to wuddus ye xxiiijth of ye same.

Francis Stanley was borne at wuddus ye . . . of March & Christned ye xixth of . . . & dyed ye xxjth of ye same. . . .mbrooke dyed about Xtnas.

A^o 1591 [*sic*. 1601]

Jo : Done esq. dyed at Edesbury ye [blank] of [blank] & was buried at Topley.⁵³

⁵³ John Done, of Utkinton, Edisbury, and Flaxyards, died 24th March, 1600-1, and was buried at Tarporley, 7th April, 1601; father of Sir John Done, Kt. See their funeral certificates, *Lancs. and Chesh. Rec. Soc.*, Vol. vi.

I set towards upon [*sic*] tewsdaye ye xxjth of Aprill & came home ye xvjth of Maye followinge very sike & soe continewed till ye viijth of June.

Mr Anthony Blyth dyed ye iiijth of June & was buried at Norton [co. Derby]

Mrs Holford⁵⁴ dyed at Hulme about ye crose weeke & was buried at Nether Peever.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Randle Mainwaring, of Peover; relict, first, of Peter Shakerley, of Holme, and, secondly, of Christopher Holford, of Holford, who died in 1581. Cross week—query, first week in May.

Mr Tho : Bunbury of Stanney dyed about ye same time. Geo : Griffyn was slayne by Tho : Wilkes about same tyme lykewise.

Mr Brereton⁵⁵ of Handford dyed thire ye iiijth of June & was buried at Chedle ye first of July.

⁵⁵ William Brereton, grandfather of the parliamentary general. (See note 35).

About ye same tyme dyed Mr [*sic*] Anne Bunbury⁵⁶ at Stanney.

⁵⁶ Anne, daughter of Geoffrey Shakerley, of Holme (son of Peter Shakerley—note 54), first wife of Henry Bunbury, son of above Mr. Thomas Bunbury.

Md. that I went unto Buxtons ye xvth of June & stayed there till ye xxvth of ye same.

Mrs Dutton⁵⁷ of Dutton dyed about midsommer.

⁵⁷ Probably Eleanor, daughter of Sir Hugh Calveley, of the Lea, wife of John Dutton, of Dutton.

Mr Dodde⁵⁸ of ye Edge dyed about ye same tyme.

⁵⁸ Randle Dodd, died 9th May, 1601.

In midsommer Tearme ye erle of Shrewsbury was sworne of ye privie consell.

At ye same tyme ye erle of Worcester was made Mr of ye Horse & of ye Counsell.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ i.e., the Council of the North.

Sr Jo : Stanhopp was at ye same tyme made Vice [chamberlain?] & of Counsell.

Folio 214

Idem.

William erle of Derby was Chosen Knight of ye Garter by ye queene herselfe upon St George day.

The same daye was Tho : Lo : Burleghe & president of Yorke chosen of ye Garter.

Sr Hu : Cholmeley Knight dyed at Cho : ye xxiiijth of July & was buried at Malpasse Hee went well unto his bed & was dead within 2 houres after.

Mr Jo : Poole of Poole ye younger dyed much about ye same tyme.

In midsommer tearme Mr Danyell⁶⁰ of Daresbury was mightely fyned & punished in ye Starrchamber for his bad dealinge towards ye Countise of Essex.

⁶⁰ John Danyell, died 30th April, 1610.

Sr Geo : Beeston dyed at Beeston ye xijth of Sept : & was buried at Bunbury ye 13 of Oct : ⁶¹

⁶¹ Sir George Beeston, who took part in defeating the Spanish Armada, and was knighted at sea by Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord High Admiral, died at the advanced age of 99, and according to his funeral certificate on 13th September, 1601 (*Lancs. and Chesh. Rec. Soc.*, Vol vi.). A fine mural monument with recumbent effigy was erected to his memory on the north wall of the chancel of Bunbury church by his son Hugh Beeston, Receiver General for Chester and North Wales. (See *The Monuments at Bunbury Church, Cheshire*, Hist. Soc. L. & C., Vol. lxx.).

Ric : Sutton of Sutton was slaine at Chester assyses ye xxiiijth of Sept : by some of Mr Recever Beestons⁶¹ company but only by his owne seekinge. He was buried there in ye Cathedrall ye xxvjth of ye same.

Mrs Copston⁶² of Devonshire was slayne by an old Howse which fell upon her, betwixt migh : & Allhallowtyde.

⁶² Perhaps Coplestone. The above Hugh Beeston and his sister Dorothy married into the family of Coplestone, of Edgeford, co. Devon, whose arms appear on the Beeston monument.

Idem.

Gabrell Wetrall of ye Namptwich dyed about ye xxth of Sept :

Sr Hu : Cho : office was sitten at Chester ye xixth of Sept : ye same night dyed ye widow Bromley of Basford.⁶³

⁶³ *Inq. p. m.* taken at Chester. The Cholmondeleys held the reversion of the manor of Basford after the death of one Isabel Bromley, widow, who appears to have been the relict of either Robert Bromley, of Basford, *temp.* Hen. VIII., or his natural son John Bromley, living in 1563.

The Du : of Lenox came into England with a letter to her majesty about ye begininge of November. Mr Ric. Wilbraham Comen Sergeant of London dyed in London a fortnight before mighellmas.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ In the lifetime of his father, Richard Wilbraham, of Nantwich.

Md. that we finished our Comission for Charitable uses at Chesterfield ye vijth of October.

Hen : Manweringe esq. [of Kermincham] was made escheator of Cheshire in mighellmas tearme this yeare.

Peter Frechvile esq. was chosen sherife of Darbyshire the same Tearme being then Knight of ye parliament for ye said shire.

Henry erle of Southampton dyed of extreame sikenes in ye tower of London upon the xxvijth of November this yeare.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ This intimation is a trifle premature. He died at Bergen op Zoom in 1625, when on service in the war in the Netherlands. (See note 47).

Hu : Hollinshed [of Heywood in Alderley] bought ye Colye heas & Daynes of Sandhull & Birtles this yeare of Sr Edw : Fitton.

This yeare my uncle [great uncle] Ran : Stanley was maior of ye noble city of . . .

This sommer the stockles in Bagmere aryse to Sr William Breretons greate . . .

Folio 221, dorso.

What Comissions I have in 1596, 1. First a Comission to myselfe my cosen Davenport⁶⁶ & Mr Tho : Wych⁶⁷ forth of ye Excheq. at Chester to heare & determyne a matter in controversie betwixt Tho : Norbury of Over Alderley & Ran : Norbury his brother concerninge there late . . . goods which ended & awarded . . . paye unto Ran : vij^{li} xiiij^s 4^d

Item another comission ye . . . forth of ye said excheq. . . . Mr Manweringe of . . . Leicester of Toft . . . Bouth ye exand., for ye . . . of witnesses in a . . . dependenge betwixt . . . & old Mr. Bertles⁶⁸ . . . accordingly executed . . . fyne at Knotsford.

⁶⁶ Probably Randle Davenport, of Henbury.

⁶⁷ Of Davenham and Alderley. Sir Peter Wyche, ambassador to Constantinople for Charles I., was of this family.

⁶⁸ Probably John Birtles, of Birtles, husband of Dorothy Hyde.

1601, 3. Item, a comission ye erle of Shrewsbury ye Bushop of Coven : & lich : Mr Manners Mr Cavendish Mr Frechvile myself & many others, under ye great seale of England to enquire after lands or goods given to any Charitable uses, which we accordingly executed at Chesterfild & certifyed ye vijth of October.

Idem. A^o . . . 4. Item, a *dedimus potest* : (under Mr Baron Clarkes hand) directed to Sr William Bowes, myselfe & Mr Godfrey Clarke, to take ye knowledge of a fyne of one Moore & his wyfe of certain lands in Cuthorp to ye use of Mr Godfrey Bradshaw of London, which Mr Clarke & I did accordingly execute & certifye at Bosley ye seconde of November.

The *Memoranda* from 1621 to 1627, recorded on two leaves of the same book, now loose and inserted at the end, are in the neat and legible handwriting of Thomas Stanley, son of the earlier writer. He was sheriff of Cheshire in 1631, and, despite his parliamentary partisanship, enjoyed the distinction of being the first Cheshire gentleman to be created a baronet after the Restoration. He died at the age of 74 years, and was buried at Alderley, 31st August, 1672. His *Memoranda* are as follows:—

My Grandfather Warburton dyed at Grafton the vij day of September beinge friday in thassises weeke Anno 1621.

I married Elizabeth theldest daughter of Sr James Pytt in the Countie of Woster Kt, at Kyer upon Thursday the xvij^{en} day of Januarie 1621. Sr Tho: Delves⁶⁹ was with mee there

⁶⁹ Of Doddington, co. Chester, Baronet; the diarist's second cousin.

My daughter Elizabeth was borne at Kyer upon Shrove thursday beinge the xx day of february 1622 Shee was baptised the 9 of March followinge. My Sister Done⁷⁰ (beinge my Mothers deputie) & the Lady Gilbert (my wives Aunt) were godmothers and Sr James Pytt my father in law was godfather. Shee dyed when shee was but five weekes & two days old and was buried at Kyer.

My sonne Thomas was borne at Eaton upon tuesday in the Whitsun weeke, being the xvij day of May 1624

Hee was baptised at Eccleston Church the xxvij of the same month. Sr Ri: Wilbraham & Sr Ri: Grosuenor were godfathers & the Lady Done⁷¹ of Utkinton, god-mother.

⁷⁰ Mary, wife of Jone Done, of Utkinton.

⁷¹ Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Wilbraham, of Woodhey, wife of Sir John Done and sister of Sir Richard Wilbraham. Funeral certificate, 1635. *L. & C. Rec. Soc.*, Vol. vi.

My Sister Mary Stanley was married to John Done Esqr at Grafton upon Wednesday beinge the xx day of November Anno 1622

My wife & I begann to keepe house at Alderley the 30 of

October 1624 I cutt downe the walks at Alderley the 3 day of februarie 162[4?] they beinge growen very farr out of order & sett quicksetts in the wants wch were very many. The same yeare I made 2 gardens the one at the house, wherein I sett yonge Apricock trees, Cherries & Plumms & also made mee a hawkes mue, the other garden being low in the walks. The same tyme I began to plant my orchard.

Sr Thomas Brereton was this yeare Sherife of Cheshire 1625. Richard Litler the yonger of Mouldsworth was his undersherife.

Kinge James dyed at Theobalds upon Sunday beinge the 27 day of March betwixt a xj & xij of the clocke at noone 1625.

Upon Thursday in Easter weeke beinge the 21 day of Aprill 1625 betweene v & 6 of the clock in the eveninge there was a very strange sight scene in the ayre in the forrest beyond Northwich towards Dutton. The Sunne was very darke & gave no light at all & there was the true proportion of a Lyon scene goinge towards the sunne, & about a 150 men marchinge after, all in armour, some two, some three in a rancke, some spearmen and some gun men. My Brother Done was an eye witnes of this & Mr Needham⁷² & many more about Dutton saw it very plainly & testified it to bee true.

⁷² Doubtless the "Mr. Nedham, of Dutton," to whom Edward Shipton, M.A., Rector of Alderley, by his will dated 29th January, 1628-9, bequeathed "Whitaker's de Scriptoris." [*De Scriptoribus?*] Mr. Shipton also left to his "noble patron Thomas Stanley, of Alderley, Greenham's works." His will, at Chester, was proved 11th Sept 1630

Edward Hollinshed parson of Alderley dyed upon fryday [interlined] Saturday being the 23 of Aprill 1625. Mr Shipton⁷² succeeded him.

My Grandmother Stanley⁷³ dyed at Alderley upon Thursday the 16 of June betwixt a xj & xij of the clock at noone 1625

⁷³ Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Maisteron, of Nantwich, and relict of Randle Stanley, of Alderley.

1625.

This yeare I brought the springe in the foxhey hill into the house, & layd it from the pittstedd in the brick feild unto the poole & so quite through the poole unto the house in oulers & birches, & so conuained unto every office in the house with cocks it is layd in trees 30.

William Goodwine that dwells under Pencoe cloud was my workman, hee was from Easter untill a fortnight after midsommer in boringe, ioyntinge & layinge of the trees. I gave him & his man ix^d a yard for boringe, ioyntinge & laying them. Hee is to uphold them three yeares for nothinge & after I am to give him vj^s viij^d a yeare to keepe them in repair so longe as hee lives.

Sr Tho : Ireland⁷⁴ dyed this yeare about the middle of July, he was Vice-Chamberlaine of the Exchequer of Chester. Mr Downes⁷⁵ succeeded him in ye place.

⁷⁴ Of Bewsey, co. Lancaster, Kt. His second son, Thomas Ireland, married the diarist's sister Margaret.

⁷⁵ Roger Downs, of Wardley, co. Lancaster.

I came into the Commission of the Peace & tooke my oath at Chester by Sr Ri : Grosvenor the 21 of July 1625

Sr John Davemport of Davemport dyed the beginninge of August 1625. The old La : Chomley⁷⁶ dyed the next weeke after him & Cheshire mourned for them both together. Shee was buried at Malpas.

⁷⁶ Mary, sole daughter and heiress of Christopher Holford, of Holford, relict of Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, knighted in the year of the Spanish Armada, 1588. King James on the occasion of his visit to Vale Royal in 1617 is reputed to have called her "The Bold Ladie of Cheshire."

Sir Tho : Chamberlaine Cheife Justice of Chester dyed at Ludlow the later end of September 1625. Sr John Bridgeman succeeded him.

My Sister Margaret Stanley was married to Tho : Ireland Esq. at Chester upon friday beinge the vij day of October 1625.⁷⁴

This yeare Michaelmas Terme was kept at Readinge in Bark-shire by reason of the great plague.

Sr John Done was this yeare Sherife of Cheshire 1626.

Ri : Litler thelder of Mouldsworth was his under sherife. This yeare Mr Bruen of Stableford dyed presently after Christmas.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ John Bruen, of Bruen Stapleford, died 18th January, 1625-6, and was buried at Tarvin.

At the quarter sessions beinge held at Chester this yeare after Christmas, ould Mr Brereton of Wettenhall sate by mee upon the bench the first day of the Sessions & dyed the night followinge.

At our election of the Kts of the Shire for the Parliament this yeare [6th February, 1625-6, to 15th June, 1626] there was very great stirre, such as the like was never in Cheshire before. Sr Ri : Grosvenor was the first man & there stood for ye second place Mr Brereton of Handford [afterwards Sir William Brereton, the parliamentary general] Mr. Daniell of Tabley [Peter Daniell] & Mr Mynshull of Mynshull [John Mynshull, whose daughter and heiress married Thomas Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal] but before they came to election Mr Brereton & Mr Daniell were persuaded to cast lotts whether should stand wch with much adoee they did & the lott fell to Mr Daniell & so they went to the shire hall to the election, where after Sr John Done (beinge then Sherife) had made his speech & propounded unto the Gentlemen & freehoulders Sr Ri : Grosvenor in the first place, hee was approved of all men, & his name presently entred for the first man, then hee propounded unto them for the second place Mr Daniell & Mr Mynshull to take their choice of, whereupon there was such a shout & noise, some cryinge Daniell, Daniell, & some Mynshull, Mynshull, wch made such a confusion that the Sherife could not understand whether of them they would have. He commanded silence, wch so soone as it could bee gotten, hee desired them to bee quiet & more silent, whereby hee might the better know whether of the gentlemen they liked better, but they presently fell againe into such a confused noyse & were so unrulely that the Sherife was forced to adiourne the Court from the Shirehall (for they were so many that both the Hall & the Castle Court

were not able to contayne them) unto flookersbrooke heath, where they devided themselves, Mr Daniells on one side & Mr Mynshulls on another & so the Sherife tooke their voices by the pole. The next day being Tuesday they went unto the Shire-hall againe, where both yt day & Wednesday they spent in taking voices by the pole. Upon thursday morninge (beinge Candlemas day) they fell upon some termes of peace, & it was mediated by Gentlemen on both sides & at last it was thus concluded in the constables chamber, that Mr Daniell should in lovinge termes desire Mr Mynshull to yield unto him, without any more losse of tyme & expence of money, wch Mr Mynshull was persuaded to doe & so the Sherife went into the Shire hall & made knowne unto the Gentlemen & freehoulders that they were agreed & that Mr Daniell was the man & so they all departed in peace.

My sonne Peter was borne at Alderley upon Munday in the Whitsun weeke beinge the 29 day of May Anno 1626

Hee was baptised the sabath followinge beinge Trinity Sunday. Sr Peter Leigh of Lyme & the Baron of Kinderton [Peter Venables, Esq.] were his godfathers & Mrs Downes of Chorley⁷⁸ his godmother.

⁷⁸ Probably the wife of Francis Downes, who purchased Chorley Hall, Wilmslow, from the Davenports.

Mr Warburton⁷⁹ of Arley dyed about St James tyde 1626.

⁷⁹ Peter Warburton, four of whose seven daughters and co-heiresses are mentioned in the *Memoranda*. (See notes 15, 18, and 81).

Mr Calveley [John Calveley] of Saughton was Sherife of Cheshire 1627. Edward Calveley his half brother was his undersherife.

Sir Hugh Beeston of Beeston dyed at Beeston this yeaere a little before Lent.

Sir Richard Lee dyed at Darnall about 3 weeks after Easter beinge presently after the assises at Chester, 1627.

Sir Urian Leigh dyed at his house at Prestbury 1^o Junij 1627

Sir Edward Stanley of Bickerstaffe was Sherife of Cheshire 1628, ffatt Wm Malbon⁸⁰ was his undersherife.

⁸⁰ Perhaps of the family of Malbon, of Bradeley in Haslington, and of Nantwich.

Mrs Brereton⁸¹ of Ashley dyed at Ashley presently after Christmas 1627

⁸¹ Jane, daughter and co-heiress of Peter Warburton, of Arley, and wife of William Brereton, of Ashley. She died 2nd March 1627-8. She was sister of Eleanor, Mary, and Alice. (See notes 15 and 18).

My mother⁸² dyed at Chester House the 10th of March 1627 & was buried at Eccleston Church.

⁸² She was then the wife of Sir Richard Grosvenor, first baronet. See her funeral certificate (*L. & C. Rec. Soc.*, Vol. vi.), in which she is said to have died on 12th March at "her howse of Blackfreeres in the Citty of Chester." This was either the Black Hall in Watergate Street, the subsequent possession of the Grosvenors, or the mansion known as Stanley Palace. (See note 9).

For an account of the Stanleys of Wever and Alderley, see Ormerod's *Cheshire*, second edition, iii. 574 *et seq.*, and *East Cheshire*, ii. 597 *et seq.*, where the late Mr. J. P. Earwaker, in whose possession the MS. then was, expressed his intention of publishing these *Memoranda*, with annotations, at a later date.





The Cult of Mithra in Deva.

By W. J. WILLIAMS, M.A. (Oxon.)



OME twenty-five years ago it was my pleasing duty to attend the very lucid lectures of the late Professor Pelham at Oxford on the Early Principate. I can still remember how he insisted on the decay of the old Italian religion and the futility of the efforts which Augustus made to buttress the crumbling edifice against the corroding attacks of the Greek sceptical spirit. The old Roman worship survived only as a political figment maintained merely for utilitarian purposes. The discredited creed was replaced among the masses of the people in Italy by more vigorous and attractive cults brought from Eastern lands.

If the above views corresponded with the facts, I was at a loss to understand how the image carved in low relief on the bluff of Bunter sandstone in Edgar's Field, close to the ancient ford, could possibly represent the old Roman war-goddess. Its rude character and its position outside the walls remote from the centre of the State's authority rendered such a supposition to my mind hardly probable. The contiguous cave appeared to me to offer the most promising clue to the solution of the problem.

In December last the *Cornhill Magazine* had an interesting article dealing with "The Cults along the Roman Wall." About a century ago an underground Mithraeum was discovered at Borcovicus, just outside the camp, and remains of bas-reliefs taken therefrom are still preserved at Carlisle. I had often marvelled at the superb marble bas-relief of the Tauroctonus Mithra in the Louvre at Paris and it occurred

to me that there was a certain resemblance between the cave there shown and our little grotto in Chester. There was also more than a suggestion of a Phrygian mitra about the head-dress of the supposed goddess. Again, the raven in the Louvre bas-relief looked much more like an owl.

I sought for fuller information in M. Cumont's book on *The Mysteries of Mithra*, and in the more comprehensive and magnificent French text presented to the Society's Library by Professor Newstead. From the latter I discovered that at Borcovicus the temple had been situated, as at Chester, to the south of the south gate of the camp. Later I found from Cumont that at Vindobala—another camp on the Wall—the temple site was similar.

The Mithraic temples were usually oblong in shape, the length from two to three times the breadth. As it was generally impossible to find a convenient cave, a building was often constructed with one end against a wall of living rock in which one or more niches were excavated, similar to our tiny cavern in Chester. For it was in just such a cave that Mithra was said to have been born of the rock.

On examination of the rock-face above and around our cave I found two large holes on each side, well-adapted to receive the ends of the beams which would support the roof of such a structure. The hole for the central roof-beam was not visible, as a layer of soil covers the brow of the rock. The roof would have a spread of about twenty feet.

On p. 263 of Cumont's *Textes et Monuments*, I found a reproduction of a photograph showing a rock-face with a cave which has a remarkable likeness to the Chester cave. The photograph was taken on a hill-side at Angera near Lake Maggiore in North Italy. Above and around the cave (although not shown in the photograph, which had to be taken at too short a range) is a series of large holes, which must have helped to support the posts of a wooden structure leaning against the rock. Cumont says: "We must admit that the temple extended in front of the grotto, and that the latter in some way formed its apse." The cave at Angera had a height of 1.75 metres and a length of 4

metres. The interior had an elliptic shape, almost round. It opened towards the East, and the sun's rays shine into the cave in the early hours of the day. The orientation of our Chester cave is identical. On the floor of the grotto at Angera were Roman tiles, but no monument had been found there in the temple itself, as no excavations had been attempted. M. Cumont, however, had no doubt of the temple being Mithraic both from its arrangement and the presence at Angera of Mithraic inscriptions. Beside the grotto the rock-face has been levelled, and numerous holes and remains of plaster show where the bas-reliefs were fixed on the rock-wall. Probably the same arrangement existed at Chester and may account for the way in which the pillar has been cut away at the side of the image to make room for the cave. This suggests that the bas-relief is older than the cave.

On p. 413 (*T. et M.*) Cumont reproduces a bas-relief in marble found at Rome, which related to the mysteries of Sabazius, not those of Mithra. It shows Minerva pouring a libation on a small altar on her right, while an owl stands on the ground to the left of her feet.

I hope I have made it appear quite probable that we have here the site of an ancient Mithraeum founded perhaps before 150 A.D., and including under its roof the image, whatever its real character and exact date may have been. As the adherents to Mithraism grew in number, and the cult gained favour in the highest circles—for the Emperor Commodus became an initiate about 170 A.D.—other Mithraea were probably founded within the walls of the fortress. One temple may have been in White Friars, near the cellars in which the two bas-reliefs now in the Grosvenor Museum were found. Cumont considers that the number of members in a single community (*consacranii*) rarely exceeded one hundred; when that limit was reached, it would break up, and two separate groups would be formed. The strongest corroboration of my theory, which, owing to the nature of the evidence, may seem to some to be purely conjectural, is furnished by Cumont (*T. et M.*), p. 390. He

quotes Stukeley's record of the finding of a statuette of stone before the year 1725, near the river at Chester "by the scite (*sic*) of the Roman warrior," *i.e.*, the statue of Minerva in Handbridge. This statuette has now disappeared, but was reproduced in Horsley, *Britannia Romana*, London, 1732, p. 316, plate 67, no. 5, to which reference is made by Watkin, *Roman Cheshire*, p. 191. Cumont describes the statuette as a Mithraic torchbearer (*dado-phorus*) in the usual dress, standing upright with legs crossed, and holding in both hands a large torch turned down to the ground. I had no knowledge of this find until a few days ago, when I came across it in Cumont. The object was probably an *ex-voto* and was certainly Mithraic. In 1848 a stone lion was dug up in Handbridge, and is now preserved in the Grosvenor Museum. Such a figure was a regular feature in the *pronaos* of a Mithraeum, as we see in Cumont's picture of the temple at Carnuntum (*T. et M.* p. 493).

Watkin also records (p. 217) that in 1813, again in Handbridge, and beside the old southern road, a number of vases and lamps carefully packed in cells, and a demi-figure habited in sacerdotal costume, were discovered in excavating a cellar at Sir John Cotgreave's, Netherleigh. I have been unable to trace these remains, but in 1843, some of them were in the Water Tower Museum. The demi-figure may be the god Mithra being born from the rock (*vide* same sketch of Mithraeum at Carnuntum), while the lamps and vases may well have been part of the furniture of our suggested Mithraeum hidden away in the fourth century, when after a long and embittered struggle Christianity gained the day, and the heathen temples were in some places razed to the ground; in other parts of the Empire the Mithraea were walled up, and the bas-reliefs and other temple property put into a cache by the priests who were convinced that one day their cause would again triumph. "In some of the provinces mobs sacked the temples and committed them to the flames, with the complicity of the authorities."¹ Some-

¹ Cumont, *M. of M.*, p. 203.

times the refractory priests of Mithra were slain by their Christian foes and buried in the ruins of their sanctuaries, henceforth for ever profaned. At Sarrebourg, in Lorraine, a chained skeleton was thus found.

A winged figure wearing a garland over the shoulder and waist was found in 1851 in Duke Street, not more than 300 yards distant from our proposed site, and is now in the Grosvenor Museum. It presents features which suggest the *Heliodromus*, the sixth grade in the Mithraic hierarchy.

Mr. Thompson Watkin, in his *Roman Cheshire* records the existence of ruins near the site in question, and the occurrence of a subsidence not more than three centuries ago, which seems to point to the existence of vaults there.² The site is by no means extensive, so that it may some day be possible for the spade once for all to determine the value of my suggestion.

If we consider the somewhat peculiar conditions which prevailed in the western half of the Roman Empire in the second and third centuries, we shall realise that a further possibility cannot be neglected. It was quite usual for a Celtic or German deity to assume a Roman dress by adopting the name, and to some extent, the attributes of one of the old Italian gods. Thus we find in Britain, Mars Cocidius; in Germany, Mars Thingus; and on a Chester altar, Juppiter Tanarus. In a similar way the oriental cults which invaded Italy and western Europe sheltered themselves under the camouflage of one or other of the ancient Roman worships. No deity except Mithra himself was more honoured by the troops who guarded the frontiers of the Empire than Juppiter Dolichenus. Dolichenus and Mithra both had their homes in far-off Commagene. Haverfield remarked in his *Romanisation of Britain* (p. 67) that "the polytheisms of ancient Europe contained little to hinder combinations of creeds: the western half of the Roman Empire became a blending-vat of worships western, eastern and Roman." M. Cumont has dealt with the problem of the relation of

² Cf. Braun's Map, 1580, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*.

Minerva to the cult of Mithra in the following passage. (*T. et M.* Intro : p. 148).

"The Mazdean goddess, whose cult was most widespread outside Iran, was Anâhita, who in the inscriptions of the Achemenidæ is coupled with Mithra. Anâhita has been regarded by Greek authors, sometimes as an Aphrodite, sometimes as an Athene. In the former case they saw in her the celestial principle of terrestrial fecundity, in the latter that which assures to warriors, and especially to kings, success in battle. It is hard to guess to which of these divinities the Mithraic priesthood gave the preference, probably to the latter. We know in fact that Anâhita was especially honoured by the Magi established in Cappadocia, and when we see the Persian dynasty of this country regularly putting on their coins the image of a Pallas Nicephora, it is not rash to recognise in her the goddess of the Avesta who gives victory to kings. In Italy later, Anâhita, identified with the *Magna Mater*, introduced the practice of *Taurobolium*. A series of taurobolic inscriptions found at Beneventum is dedicated to Minerva Berecynthia, an unusual name for the Phrygian goddess, which would be strange unless one admitted that it is here identical with the Persian Athene. A final reason for considering the Mithraic Minerva as the substitute for the great Iranian goddess is the relative frequency with which she is represented. She appears on a bas-relief at Rome enthroned with Juppiter and Juno, but more often standing upright, as in the bas-relief at Osterburken, where she appears clothed in chiton and cloak, wearing a high-crested Attic casque, her left hand leaning on a buckler set on the ground and grasping a spear with raised right hand. A more special motif is that offered us by a Roman altar (mon. 293) of which unfortunately we know only a poor specimen—Minerva wearing a casque, holding her buckler in her left hand, before which is the owl, and pouring the contents of a *patera* with her right over a flaming altar. The inscriptions, which call her either "Minerva sancta" or simply "Minerva" teach us nothing about her character.

From this passage we see that Cumont finds nothing incongruous in a union of the two cults, one masculine, the other feminine. In Switzerland, a hatchet with the name of Minerva on it was found in a Mithraeum. (Mon : 239 bis.) On a *stele* at Neuenheim, Minerva holding a lance appears. In another temple Diana was worshipped together with

Mithra as a result of the same tendency to syncretism. In Cologne, as at Ostia, there were mysteries for women in close relation to those of Mithra. Insc. 574b. (*T et M.*) on an altar to Semele shows there were *matres* as well as *patres*. If we are prepared to accept this union of the two cults in Chester, it becomes possible to understand the last line on the altar to Minerva in the Grosvenor Museum, which has hitherto been unintelligible. I would suggest the reading MAG. R. stands for *magister fratrum*, the F and R being ligulate.³ The *magister* was the annually elected president of the Mithraic society whose members were known to one another as the *fratres* (brethren). Cumont supplies ample evidence for both these uses, and we may compare the title of *pater leonum*. Cf. (*T. et M.* Insc. 24, 47 and 48; also 157).

It is, however, on the sepulchral monuments that we find the clearest and best evidence of the prevalence of the Mithra cult in Deva. Watkin noted the fact that "on tombstones of Mithraists lions frequently occur, as those who had reached the fourth grade were styled *Leones*." If he had gone a step further, and sought the symbols of the other grades, he could scarcely have failed to find them. The first grade was the Raven, and the bird, its emblem, may be seen in four examples, usually in festoons above the chief group; in two other cases the festoons are there but the birds have disappeared. In No. 115, which I regard as one of the earliest Mithraic monuments, the bird is on the table in front. It is seen beside the table at the banquet on Mon. 273 ter (Cumont). This monument (No. 115) was found on the Roodeye at the foot of the Wall not 100 yards from the Grosvenor Road, together with two skeletons, a coin of Domitian, and a gold ring. The ring was carried off by one of the workmen, but may possibly have found its way subsequently into the Museum, as there is one displayed there of unknown origin which has the *signum* of a raven. The second grade of initiates were styled *κρύφιοι* which Cumont translates "occult." Its literal meaning is

³ Professor Hübner wished to read *magister fabrorum*.

"hidden" or "concealed" as in the phrase ὄφεις κρύφιος—a lurking snake. The inscriptions tell us that the *patres ostenderunt cryphios, tradiderunt leontica*. "The members of this class" says Cumont (*M. of M.*, p. 154), "hidden by some veil probably remained invisible to the rest of the congregation. To exhibit them constituted a solemn act." Where then were they hidden? I venture to suggest that it was inside the little cave, which I believe to be the mark of this grade on the sepulchral slabs. (Nos. 159, 160, and 161). No. 161 looks forward to the next initiation in which a crown was proffered to the would-be *miles*, who became one of the warriors of the invincible god and waged war under his command on the powers of evil. No. 65 shows the sword and helmet of such a warrior in the upper section. What are known as the Rider slabs may refer to the same grade. Of this class Cumont says (*T. et M.* 328 bis.)

"In the Danubian provinces have been found a great many little bas-reliefs of stone or metal bearing the image of one or two horsemen trampling under their hoofs a person stretched on the earth. Outside the main group appear a series of representations very variable in number and nature. The most probable opinion is that they had to do with Thracian cults. However that may be, this unknown religion had been influenced by Mithraism. This is clearly shown by certain figures which appear on these accessory bas-reliefs, *e.g.*, the crater of the lion and serpent."

In Britain I suggest that elements of this Thracian cult had been absorbed into the worship of Mithra, and having some connection with the grade of Miles, came to be its symbol. If so, we have in Chester at least four or five examples. These three grades did not authorise participation in the Mysteries: the initiates were styled ἱππεροῦντες or servants. Only the mystics, who had received the Leontics, became participants, μετέχοντες, and it is for this reason that the grade of Leo is mentioned in the inscriptions more than any other. I find two examples at Chester, Nos. 91 and 167. The former has a main group remarkably like the reverse of the coins of Trapezus in Pontus (218 A.D.) which represent a divinity on

horseback, which combines the characteristics of Men and Mithra, and is preceded by a dadophor (torch-bearer).

Of the next grade, the Persian, I find one clear example (No. 50). The small figures on either side of the inscription wear the Phrygian cap, which was assumed at this stage and served to recall the first origin of the Mazdean religion.

Of the sixth grade—the *Heliodromoi* or couriers of the Sun—I can find but one doubtful example, too mutilated to have much value for my purpose. It would serve almost equally well for a specimen of the fifth grade. (No 71). Nos. 163 and 164 formed the upper parts of two large sepulchral monuments, appropriate to the members of the highest grade in the Mithraic hierarchy—the *Patres*. The chief feature is a large male bearded head. Possibly Nos. 38 and 47 supply the inscriptions which went with these reliefs as the dimensions are almost the same, and they refer to men of appropriate age and position. Only two women are included in the above, both in the grade of Raven. In monuments of the first and perhaps the second grade, the main group was the Sepulchral Banquet relief, which occurs in Greece, Etruria, and especially along the Rhine frontier. It is remarkably like the bas-relief of the Mithraic communion discovered at Konjica, in Bosnia, about twenty years ago, and depicted by Cumont on page 159 of *The Mysteries of Mithra*. The couch, the tripod in front, and the cup held aloft are seen in both. Etruria and Germany were two of the chief centres of the Mithra-cult, and in Greece the form may have been derived from Asia Minor. The banquet of Mithra and Helios on the completion of the former's earthly labours was commemorated in the Mithraic Agape or Love-feast, and is a very common theme on the bas-reliefs, mostly on the side or bottom panels. What could be more natural than that the neophytes should picture on their monuments the most sacred rite to which they could aspire, and which they believed had power to impart divine grace requisite alike here and beyond the grave? Cumont says (*M. et M.* pp. 160 and 173) "The sacred wine conferred upon them a glorious immortality. They came forth

strengthened from these sacred banquets, which contained the promise of a better life, where the sufferings of this world find their full compensation."

It is very significant that none of the tombstones of the Second Legion (Nos. 23-35) contain any of the features to which I have called attention. They are simply inscribed slabs, often much worn, without other ornament than rosettes, half-moons, etc. Many of the other stones which bear a general resemblance to these may be set aside for our present purpose. The stones which I hold to be those of Mithraists form the majority of the large bas-reliefs; the minority are merely portraits of the deceased such as Nos. 38 and 90, which were probably the work of the same sculptors as the Mithraic reliefs, but have no religious significance. What was the influence which about the middle of the second century produced so striking a change in the style of sepulchral monuments? Can it have been aught but the rapid dissemination of the cult of Mithra, whose bas-reliefs have been found in hundreds, if not thousands, from the banks of the Clyde to those of the Nile? Wherever the imperial eagles were set up, there we find the traces of this worship. The very badge of the Twentieth Legion as we see it on our monument No. 214, the Boar charging a cypress tree, is found thrice on undoubted Mithraic reliefs. (Cumont, M114b. and 239 at Trent and Maults). The cypress figures largely in the reliefs and was the symbol of immortality. The boar also appears frequently (Cumont, *M. of M.* pp. 122, 244). On the latter relief from Mannheim, Hercules (who here represents Verethraghna, the genius of Victory) stands beside Mithra, and has behind him a charging boar. Cumont comments thus: "This group makes one think of the passage in the *Mihir Yasht*, which shows Verethraghna approaching Mithra under the form of a boar 'well-fed, furious, strong and seeking battle.' " On M.487 (Cumont) an altar at Lanchester, dedicated *DEO INVICTO*, a boar is graven on the left side. The boar appears also on the Communion relief from Konjica seated beside the table in front of the

couch. On either side of the inscription on our monument 214 is a figure winged on the shoulders, and carrying a *falx* in one hand and a bunch of grapes in the other. Above all each appears to be wearing a Phrygian cap. May not these represent the *Heliodromoi*? For this tablet was set up on the Wall of Antonine, the northernmost limit of the Roman Empire, where the daily course of the sun (Ἡλίου δρόμος) at mid-summer attains a greater length above the horizon than at any point to the south of it. The grapes are a regular feature on the bas-reliefs and are seen on the sides of the Chester monument 156. There was a large admixture of astrology due to Semitic influence in the Mithraic doctrines. See for instance the border of the relief from Borcovicus displaying the signs of the Zodiac.

At Rough Castle, also on the Wall of Antonine, a tablet with an inscription identical with ours but for the absence of the reliefs and of the bottom line, commemorates the building of a *principia*. Similar tablets along the Wall of Hadrian (*vide* Bruce, pp. 80, 97, 98, 103, 154,) always refer to the construction of some building such as a temple.

The severe tests and trying ordeals which the mystics had to undergo in order to reach the highest grade of *Patres* were eighty in number. Hence, few were privileged to reach the higher orders; a natural pride in their achievement would lead them to advertise their success to their fellow-mystics on their monuments. The numbers which my method supplies from the tombstones agree well with this consideration: six Ravens, four Cryphii, five Milites, two Lions, one Persian, one (?) *Heliodromus* and two *Patres*.

At least ten other stones in the Grosvenor Museum may have been Mithraic, as Nos. 169, 170, and 171. No. 149, a bull charging, may be a fragment of a relief showing Mithra riding on the bull; Nos. 120 and 117 probably show the *sacerdos* or *antistes* performing his sacred office, as in each we see a bird much like a raven. No. 140 is a subject which occurs repeatedly on the Mithraic reliefs—Poseidon reclining under a tree. I believe then that we have in Chester most of the essential elements of a Mithraic cemetery, such

as Professor Cumont so ardently desiderated. What was the lucky chance which preserved them intact for so many centuries? I incline to the belief that they were put away inside the North Wall in the 4th century, when the pagan cults were suppressed after Constantine's conversion in 311 A.D. Two objections have been put forward to this view, firstly that the quality of the work on the North Wall is too good for the 4th century, secondly that there is little indication that any of the stones are later than the second century. To the first objection Professor Haverfield in his *Romanisation of Britain*, gave the answer, where he quotes Eumenius as stating that Britain so abounded with artisans at that time that they were employed in Gaul as far south as Autun in rebuilding houses and temples. Moreover the stones for the Wall probably came from the disused temples. In reply to the second objection, the tomb-stones may have come from a cemetery close to the fortress [possibly from the Infirmary Field, where inhumation—the invariable practice of Mithraists—seems to have been the general rule] which had been filled full by the end of the second century. M. No. 108 is exceptional in showing little sign of exposure to the weather, and the Greek Υ in Dinysia is probably the mark of a late date. The third century in Britain was an age of peace and prosperity, but in the fourth dangers began to lower more and more darkly, and the garrison of Deva may well have found it needful to look to their defences. In 343 Constans was summoned from Gaul to repel the invading hordes of Picts and Scots. His entry into London is pictured on a coin lately found in France at Arras.

The Mithraic Communion relief must have been highly offensive to the Christians, who regarded the rite as a travesty of their own Eucharist inspired by the devil. By building into the North Wall all the relics of the pagan worships, the Christians, who were perhaps of the Manichean sect, put them beyond the reach of their former owners, and yet made it possible to recover them, if the swing of the pendulum should bring back the old superstitions once

more. For the cult of Mithra, among others, maintained its position much longer in the outer provinces of the Empire. At Saarebourg in Belgium, as many as 123 coins of the 4th century were found in a Mithraeum, which must have been functioning as late as 395 A.D. I cannot attempt therefore, to date the construction of the North Wall with any precision.

A famous Egyptologist in his latest work has said: "It is the business of the archæologist to wake the dreaming dead; not to send the living to sleep. It is his business to make the stones tell their tale; not to petrify the listener." Such is the ideal which I have set before me. If an excessive daring in speculation has led me astray, I hope your just criticism will set me right, and so in the end a solid contribution may accrue to the advancement of our knowledge of ancient Deva.

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POSTSCRIPT.—The name "Persian's Cave" which is given to Princess Street on Braun's Map of Chester (*circa* 1580), suggests that remains of another Mithraeum may have existed in the Middle Ages not far from the Infirmary Field. Higden, in the *Polychronicon*, in describing the remains of the Roman occupation, quotes from an earlier writer: "*Concava testudo bina latet sub humo.*" This may very well indicate that ruins of two Mithraea then existed in Chester.



Catalogue of the Roman Coins in the Chester Museum.

COMPILED BY REV. J. T. DAVIES, M.A., WITH THE
HELP OF F. W. LONGBOTTOM, Esq., F.R.A.S.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE main Collection seems to have had its origin in the old Water Tower Museum. It consists of 203 First and Second Brass (which we have placed together), and 106 Silver, Billon, and Third Brass. The separation of First and Second from the other denominations was made necessary by the existing piercings of the trays.

The Coins range in date from an uncial As of the third century B.C. to Arcadius. (A.D. 383—408).

It is unfortunate that the place of discovery has been given only in about half-a-dozen cases.

The Coins were arranged by Canon Gleadowe (Head Master of the King's School from 1839 to 1853).

The attributions were in many cases wrong, and there was little method in the classification. We have had the cases cleaned and ebonised, and the coins have been numbered, labelled, and fully described. The references to Cohen's *Monnaies Impériales*, 2^e édition (C), are very incomplete, as no copy of the work was easily accessible.

An account of the smaller Collections, scattered in various cabinets, will be found at the end of the Catalogue. These, though, as a rule, in poor condition, are of greater historical value than the main Collection, inasmuch as their Chester origin is known and recorded.

Of special interest, too, are the Moel Fenlle and Maesmor, Corwen, hoards, which are said by Mr. Willoughby Gardner to be of the same style and period as his Dinorben (Rhuddlan) finds.

The latest addition (1917) is the Heron Bridge hoard of 1855, the gift of the late Mr. W. Ayrton, F.R.M.S.

Watkin, in his *Roman Cheshire* (published in 1886), describes 191 coins then in the possession of the Chester Archæological Society, nearly all of which had been given by the Rev. W. H. Massie and Mr. John Peacock. Besides these, there were 200—300, some totally illegible and others nearly so. (Some of these, as described in a footnote, are found in the present Collection).

In addition, Watkin gives a list of 93 as in the possession of the Corporation of Chester (then in the Town Hall, but formerly in the Water Tower Museum).

Of the 284 described in Watkin's two lists, it is possible, with fair certainty, to identify 200 with Coins in our present Collection. There seem to have been some serious losses, notably a Vespasian $\text{Æ}1$. *IUDAEA CAPTA*, and a Nerva, $\text{Æ}2$. *NEPTVNO CIRCENS . . . TITVIT*, illustrated by Watkin and described as of the highest rarity.

In a list of Coins belonging to the Museum in 1891, printed in the *Journal* of the Archæological Society (Vol. IV., p. 203), is a gold coin of Titus, which has since disappeared.

In Vol. VI., p. 259, it is stated that Six Roman Æ were presented by Miss Nessie Brown in 1897.

We hope that the study of this important branch of Archæology, especially as throwing light on the history of Chester, has been made a little easier by our efforts, and that all future finds will be carefully recorded.

J. T. D.
F. W. L.

January, 1922.

MAIN COLLECTION.

Æ1 and Æ2.

REPUBLICAN.

B.C. 217—89.

- 1 As (uncial) Janus head.
Rev. Prow of galley. In exergue, ROMA.

IMPERIAL.

AUGUSTUS. B.C. 27—A.D. 14.

- 2 Æ2. DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER. Bare head to l.
Rev. PROVIDENT. s.c. Altar. C., 228
- 3 Æ1. As 2 (restored by Nerva).
- 4 Æ2. As 2.
- 5 Æ2. As 2.

LIVIA, w. of AUGUSTUS (d. A.D. 29).

- 6 Æ1. (Col.) IVLIA AVGVSTA GENETRIX ORBIS. Head to l.
Rev. COL AVG EMERITA. Head of Augustus to r.

AUGUSTUS and AGRIPPA (d. B.C. 12).

- 7 Æ2. (Col.) IMP DIVI F PP. Heads, back to back, of Augustus and Agrippa.
Rev. COL NEM. Crocodile to r., chained to palm tree : below, two palm branches.
- 8 Æ2. M AGRIPPA L F COS III. Head l. with rostral crown.
Rev. s.c. Neptune l., mantle over arm and shoulder : in r. a dolphin : in l. a trident. C., 3

ANTONIA, m. of GERMANICUS and CLAUDIUS
(d. A.D. 38).

- 9 Æ2. (struck by Claudius) ANTONIA AVGVSTA. Draped bust to r.
Rev. TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG PM TR P IMP. S.C.
Antonia veiled standing l. holding simpulum.
C., 6

GERMANICUS (d. A.D. 19).

- 10 Æ2. GERMANICVS CAESAR TI AVGVSTI F DIVI AVG N.
Bare head l.
Rev. C CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS PON M TR POT.
s.c. C., 1
- 11 Æ2. (struck A.D. 17) GERMANICVS CAESAR. In quadriga.
Rev. SIGNIS RECEPTIS DEVICTIS GERM. s.c. G.
armed and with legionary eagle in l. Stands l.,
right arm extended.

TIBERIUS. 14—37.

- 12 Æ2. T CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS. Bare head to l.
Rev. PONTIF MAX TR P . . . globe and rudder
(dominion of earth and sea).
- 13 Æ2. As 12, but add IMP VIII.
Rev. PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POTEST XXXIII. round
s.c.
- 14 Æ2. As 13.
Rev. As 13, but XXVII.

CALIGULA. 37—41.

- 15 Æ2. C CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS PON M TR POT. Bare
head to l.
Rev. VESTA. s.c. Seated l., with patera and
sceptre. C., 27

CLAUDIUS. 41—54.

- 16 Æ2. TI CLAVDIVS AVG P M TR P IMP P P. Bare
head l.
Rev. s.c. Pallas standing r. throwing javelin and
holding shield. C., 84
- 17 As 16.

NERO. 54—68.

- 18 Æ2. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS. Bare
head r.
Rev. PONTIF MAX TR POT IMP PP. s.c. Nero
standing r. in female dress; playing lyre. C., 249
- 19 Æ2. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER P M TR P IMP PP.
Head radiate to r.
Rev. ROMA. s.c. Seated l. on cuirass; holding
a Victory and parazonium.
- 20 Æ2. NERO CAESAR AVG GERM IMP. Head laureate r.
Rev. s.c. Victory advancing l. holding shield on
which SPQR. C., 288
- 21 As 20.

VESPASIAN. 69—79.

- 22 Æ1. IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG PM TR P. Head laureate r.
Rev. EX S.C. OB CIVES SERVATOS in oak wreath.
- 23 Æ1. IMP CAES . . . PM TR P PP COS VIII. Head laureate r.
Rev. ROMA. Figure holding a Victory l.
- 24 Æ1. . . . PON TR COS VI CENS. Head laureate r.
Rev. As 23. C., 419
- 25 Æ2. IMP CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG COS III PP. Head laureate and radiate r. Found on site of Gas Works.
Rev. FORTVNAE REDVCI. S.C. Fortune standing l. with rudder on globe. C., 181
- 26 Æ2. IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG COS VIII. Head laureate r.
Rev. FIDES PVBLICA. S.C. standing l. with cornuc. and patera.
- 27 Æ1. Illegible. Vespasian?
- 28 Æ1. CAES VESPASIAN AVG.
Rev. Illegible.
- 29 Æ2. IMP CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG COS . . . Head laureate r.
Rev. PAX AVGVSTI. S.C. Peace standing l. holding olive-branch and cornuc.
- 30 Æ2. IMP CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG COS IIII. Head radiate r.
Rev. AVG. S.C. Female standing l. at altar.
- 31 Æ2. IMP CAESAR VESP AVG COS V CENS.
Rev. AEQVITAS AVGVSTI. S.C. Standing l. with scales.
- 32 Æ2. Head to r. *Rev.* Illegible.
- 33 Æ2. As 31.
- 34 Æ2. IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG COS VIII. Laureate bust r.
Rev. PROVIDENT. S.C. Altar with boucrania and garlands.

TITUS. 79—81.

- 35 Æ1. . . . AVG F PON TR P COS . . . Head to r.
Rev. Illegible. Found opposite Trinity Church.
- 36 Æ2. T CAES VESPASIAN P TR P COS II. Radiate head r.
Rev. FELICITAS PVBLICA. S.C. standing l. holding cornuc. and caduceus. Found on site of Gas Works.

TITUS. 79—81.—*Continued.*

- 37 Æ2. . . . VESPASIAN AVG. Head to r.
Rev. Illegible. Fig. standing to l.
- 38 Æ2. . . . Radiate head to r.
Rev. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. S.C. advancing l. with palm branch.
- 39 Æ2. T CAES IMP AVG F TR P COS VII CENS. Laureate head r.
Rev. S.C. Hope advancing l. with flower and holding up dress.
- 40 Æ2. As 39.
- 41 Æ2. As 39.
- 42 Æ2. T CAESAR IMP . . . Head to r.
Rev. TR POT COS . . . Winged caduceus between cornuc. in saltire.
- 43 Æ2. T CAES IMP AVG F TR P COS VI CENSOR. Laureate head r.
Rev. PAX AVG. S.C. as 29.
- 44 Æ2. As 43.
Rev. VICTORIA NAVALIS. S.C. (won over Jews on sea of Galilee), Victory holding palm and standing r. on prow.
 (A similar coin was found by Prof. Newstead during his excavations at King's Buildings in Sept., 1921).

DOMITIAN. 81—96.

- 45 Æ1. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XVII CENS PER PP. Laureate head r. (A.D. 97).
Rev. IOVI VICTORI. S.C. with sceptre and Victory. C., 313
- 46 Æ2. CAESAR AVG F DOMITIANVS COS V. Laureate head r.
Res. S.C. Spes. advancing l. with flower and holding up her dress. C., 449
- 47 Æ2. IMP CAES DOMITIAN AVG GERM COS XI. Radiate head r.
Rev. FIDEI PVBLICAE. S.C. Fides standing l., holding two ears of corn in r. hand and basket of fruit in l.
- 48 Æ2. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XIII CENS PER PP. Laureate head r.
Rev. FORTVNAE AVGVSTI. S.C. Fortune standing l. holding rudder and cornuc. C., 124
- 49 Æ2. As 48, but COS XVI.
Rev. As 48.

DOMITIAN. 81—96.—*Continued.*

- 50 Æ2. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM PM TR P VIII CENS
PER PP. Laureate bust r.
Rev. COS XIII LVD SÆC FEC. S.C. Domitian sacrific-
ing at lighted altar before temple : in field two
musicians. C., 85
- 51 Æ2. Bust to r.
Rev. Illegible. Pallas (?).
- 52 Æ2. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XIII CENS PER
PP. Laureate bust to r.
Rev. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI. S.C. Valour standing r.
foot on helmet, with spear and parazonium.
C., 650
- 53 Æ2. CAESAR AVG F DOMITIAN COS II. (A.D. 73).
Laureate head to l.
Rev. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. S.C. Victory standing
r. on prow ending in snake, with wreath and palm.
- 54 Æ2. As 52. (Found in cutting near Northgate
Station).
- 55 Æ2. . . . AVG F DOMITIAN. Laureate head to r.
Rev. Illegible. Figure standing to l.
- 56 Æ2. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XVII CENS PER
PP. Radiate head to r.
Rev. MONETA AVGVSTI. S.C. Moneta standing l.,
holding scales and cornuc. C., 334

NERVA. 96—98.

- 57 Æ1. IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR P COS III PP.
(A.D. 97). Laureate head to r.
Rev. LIBERTAS PVBLICA. S.C. standing l., with
flower and sceptre.
- 58 Æ2. IMP NERVA CAES AVG P M TR P COS III PP.
Laureate head to r.
Rev. LIBERTAS PVBLICA. S.C. Libertas standing l.
holding cap and sceptre. C., 110
- 59 Æ2. (Col.) probably of Augustus; if so, misplaced.
Laureate head to r. S.M.
Rev. COL VAL[ENTIA]. In exergue II VIR. Colonist
or priest driving yoke of oxen in plough.

TRAJAN. 98—117.

- 60 Æ1. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM P M.
Rev. TR POT COS II. Peace l. on chair, legs of
which end in cornucop.

TRAJAN. 98—117.—*Continued.*

- 61 Æ1. . . . COS V PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Seated figure to l.
 Found on Museum site.
- 62 Æ1. As 61. Illegible. Found in Dee under
 Suspension Bridge.
- 63 Æ1. IMP NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC COS V PP.
 Laureate head to r.
Rev. Dacian captive seated l. before trophy.
- 64 Æ1. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM P M. (A.D.
 102). Laureate head to r.
Rev. TR POT COS IIII PP. S.C. Peace seated. C., 640
- 65 Æ1. As 63.
- 66 Æ1. IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR
 P COS V PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. Illegible. Probably SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI.
 Peace standing l. with foot on Dacia. C., 406
- 67 Æ1. As 66.
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. S.C. Fortune stand-
 ing l. with flower in r., cornuc. in l. C., 477
- 68 Æ1. As 66.
Rev. As 67.
- 69 Æ1. As 66.
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. S.C. Peace seated l.
 on shield, holding laurel: in front, a trophy.
- 70 Æ1. IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC . . .
Rev. S.C. In exergue FORT RED. Figure seated
 l. with cornuc.
- 71 Æ2. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM DACICVS P M.
 Laureate head to r.
Rev. [P M] TR P VII IMP IIII COS V PP. S.C.
 Winged Victory advancing l., carrying trophy.
- 72 Æ2. (Col.) (In Greek) TRAIANOS SEB. Laureate
 head to r.
Rev. S.C. in wreath.
- 73 Æ2. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM P M.
 (A.D. 102). Laureate head to r.
Rev. TR POT COS IIII PP. S.C. Victory advancing
 l. holding in r. hand shield on which SPQR.
 C., 640
- 74 Æ2. IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO . . . Radiate
 head and draped bust to r.
Rev. SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS. S.C. Peace
 standing l. holding cornuc.
- 75 Æ2. Illegible. Laureate bust to r.
Rev. Illegible. Figure advancing l.

TRAJAN. 98—117.—*Continued.*

- 76 Æ2. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM P M.
Laureate head r.
Rev. TR POT COS . . . S.C.
- 77 Æ2. Illegible. Laureate head r.
Rev. Illegible.
- 78 Æ2. IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GERM DAC P M
TR P COS V PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. S.C. Peace advancing l. with cornuc. and flower.
- 79 Æ2. As 78, but COS VI. (A.D. 115).
Rev. SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS. S.C. Victory advancing r. with wreath and palm branch,
C., 355

HADRIAN. 117—138.

- 80 Æ1. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. COS III. S.C. In exergue FORT RED. Fortune seated l. with rudder and cornuc. C., 729
- 81 Æ1. Illegible.
Rev. Illegible. Figure standing l.
- 82 Æ1. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS.
Rev. P M TR P COS III. S.C. In field VIRT AVG. Valour standing l. with parazonium and spear: foot on helmet. C., 1464
- 83 Æ1. HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. FORTVNA AVG. S.C. Figure standing l. with patera and cornuc. C., 772
- 84 Æ1. IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS.
Rev. As 82. C., 1464
- 85 Æ1. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. HILARITAS (?) in long robe to l. C., 819
- 86 Æ1. Misplaced. (Col.) AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX, MAXIMVS. Laureate head to r.
Rev. AVGVSTA EMERITA PER AVG. Gate and enclosure of Emerita (in Hispania Lusitania).
- 87 Æ1. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Bare head to r.
Rev. Rome reclining to l. on cuirass: in front, eagle on pillar. S.C.
- 88 Æ1. IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG. Laureate head to r.
Rev. HILARITAS (?) in long robe, standing l., giving palm branch to boy standing l.: young girl on r.

HADRIAN. 117—138.—*Continued.*

- 89 Æ1. IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS II. Laureate head to r.
Rev. FORTVNA AVG. S.C. standing l., with patera and cornuc. C., 772
- 90 Æ1. HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. RESTITVTORI AFRICAE. S.C. Emperor togate standing l; before him, suppliant Africa in elephant scalp, ears of corn between.
- 91 Æ2. HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. FIDES PVBLICA. S.C. Fides standing r. with two corn ears and basket of fruit.
- 92 Æ2. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Bare head to r.
Rev. FELICITATI AVG. S.C. In exergue COS III PP. Vessel with rowers and pilot to l., poop ornamented with ensign and standard.
- 93 Æ2. HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. AEQVITAS AVG. S.C. Equity standing l.
- 94 Æ2. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Laureate head to r.
Rev. COS III. S.C. Salus standing r. feeding snake. C., 369
- 95 Æ2. Illegible.
Rev. S.C. Three military ensigns.
- 96 Æ2. HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. HISPANIA. S.C. reclining l., holding olive branch. Before her, a rabbit. C., 823
- 97 Æ2. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Laureate and radiate head to r.
Rev. COS III. S.C. Pegasus walking to r.
- 98 Æ2. Illegible. Head to r.
- 99 Æ2. HADRIANVS AVG COS IIII PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. ADVENTVS AVG. S.C. (in exergue). Rome standing r., spear in l. hand, giving r. hand to Hadrian.
- 100 Æ2. IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS III. Laureate and radiate head to r.
Rev. PIETAS AVGVSTI. S.C. Pietas veiled, standing to r., r. hand raised above an altar.
- SABINA (w. of Hadrian), d. A.D. 136.
- 101 Æ2. SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP. Diademed head with queue to r.
Rev. VESTA. S.C. Vesta seated to l. holding palladium and sceptre. C., 83

ANTONINUS PIUS. 138—161.

- 102 Æ1. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP COS III. Laureate head to r.
Rev. ROMVLO AVGVSTO. S.C. Winged Victory, with spear, advancing r.
- 103 Æ1. Similar to 102, but after PP, TR P.
Rev. COS IIII. S.C. Equity standing l. with balance and cornuc. C., 232
- 104 Æ1. Similar to 102, but TR P before COS III.
Rev. As 102.
- 105 Æ1. As 103, but TR P XXIII.
Rev. INDVLGENTIA AVG COS IIII. S.C. seated l. with sceptre : r. hand extended.
- 106 Æ2. . . . PP TR P XVIII. Laureate head to r.
Rev. BRITANNIA COS IIII. S.C. Britannia seated l. on rock, r. hand to mouth, l. hand on rock : in front, a shield and sceptre surmounted by eagle. C., 117
- 107 Æ2. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. FORTVNA AVGVSTI. S.C. Fortune standing l. with cornuc. and rudder.
- 108 Æ2. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TR P XVIII. Radiate head to r.
Rev. LIBERTAS PVBLICA COS IIII. S.C. Liberty standing l. with cap and sceptre.
- 109 Æ2. Similar to 107, but radiate head.
Rev. FELICITAS (?) AVGVSTI. S.C. to l. with ears of corn.

FAUSTINA (Sen.) w. of Ant. Pius.

- 110 Æ2. FAVSTINA AVG ANTONINI AVG PII PP. Bust to r.
Rev. CERERI AVGVSTAE. S.C. Ceres standing to r. with two ears of corn.
- 111 Æ2. DIVA FAVSTINA. Bust to r.
Rev. Illegible.
- 112 Æ2. DIVA AVGVSTA FAVSTINA. Bust to r.
Rev. Illegible. Figure standing l. above an altar.
- 113 Æ2. DIVA AVG FAVSTINA. Bust to r.
Rev. AVGVSTA. S.C. Ceres standing l. with sceptre (or long torch).
- 114 Æ2. DIVA FAVSTINA. Bust to r.
Rev. AETERNITAS. S.C. Eternity seated l., sceptre in l. holding out r. hand.

MARCUS AURELIUS. 161-180.

- 115 Æ1. IMP M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXV. Laureate head r.
Rev. FIDES EXERCITVVM. S.C. In exergue COS III. Fides standing l. holding standard.
- 116 Æ1. IMP CAES M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG P M. Bare head r.
Rev. CONCORDIA AVGVSTOR TR P XV. S.C. In exergue COS III. Marcus Aurelius and Verus standing togated join r. hands. C., 45
- 117 Æ1. M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXIII. Laureate head r.
Rev. SALVTI AVG COS III. S.C. Salvs standing l. holding sceptre and feeding serpent twined round altar. C., 544
- 118 Æ2. M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXIX. Laureate head r.
Rev. [IMP VII COS III]. S.C. Tiber lying l., l. elbow on urn from which water flows, r. hand resting on boat. C., 348
- 119 Æ2. As 118, but XXV.
Rev. IMP VI COS III. S.C. Winged Victory standing l. holding round shield on which VIC GER
- 120 Æ2. As 118. Radiate head r.
Rev. IMP VI COS III. S.C. Rome seated l. with a Victory and spear.
- 121 Æ2. As 119.
- 122 Æ2. . . . AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG [PII F]. Bare head r.
Rev. TR POT VIII . . . S.C. Pallas (?) standing l. holding eagle and spear: behind, shield.
- 123 Æ2. M AVRELIVS CAES AVG PII F. Bare head r.
Rev. TR POT XIII COS II. S.C. Valour standing l. holding parazonium and spear: l. foot on helmet.
- FAUSTINA (Jun.) w. of M. Aurelius.
- 124 Æ1. FAVSTINA AVG PII AVG FIL. Bust to r.
Rev. S.C. Diana standing l. with bow.
- 125 Æ2. DIVA FAVSTINA PIA. Bust to r.
Rev. S.C. Crescent and seven stars. (Aeternitas type).
- 126 Æ2. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust to r.
Rev. SALVTI AVGVSTAE. S.C. Salvs seated l. feeding serpent twined round altar.
- 127 Æ2. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust to r.
Rev. DIANA LVCIFERA. S.C. Diana standing r. holding long torch in both hands. C., 89

LUCIUS VERUS. 161—169.

- 128 Æ1. IMP CAES L AVREL VERVS AVG. Laureate bust r.
Rev. TR POT III COS II. S.C. In exergue FORT RED.
 Fortune seated l. with rudder and cornuc. C., 93
- 129 Æ1. DIVVS VERVS. Bare head to r.
Rev. CONSECRATIO. S.C. Eagle on globe to r.
- 130 Æ1. As 129.
Rev. Eagle to l.
- 131 Æ2. L VERVS AVG ARMENIACVS. Bust to r.
Rev. TR P IIII IMP II COS II. S.C. In exergue ARMEN.
 Armenia seated l. amidst piles of arms.

LUCILLA (d. of M. Aurelius, w. of L. Verus).

- 132 Æ1. LVCILLAE AVG ANTONINI AVG F. Bust to r.
Rev. IVNONI LVCINAE seated l., babe on l. arm :
 flower in r. hand.
- 133 Æ1. LVCILLA AVGVSTA. Bust to r.
Rev. IVNO. S.C. seated l. holding patera and
 sceptre. C., 35

COMMODUS. 177—192.

- 134 Æ1. M COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG. Young head
 laureate r.
Rev. PROV DEOR TR P VI IMP IIII COS III. Provi-
 dence standing l. holding sceptre : at foot a
 globe.
- 135 Æ1. M COMMODVS ANT FELIX AVG P M. Laureate
 head r.
Rev. P M TR P XI IMP VII COS. Figure between
 two standards.
- 136 Æ1. M COMMODVS ANT P FELIX AVG BRIT. Laureate
 head r.
Rev. P M TR P XI IMP VII COS V PP. In exergue
 FID EXERCIT. Emperor standing l. on estrade
 addresses five soldiers armed with shield and
 sword, three carrying standards. (Rare). C., 137
- 137 Æ1. M COMMODVS ANT FELIX AVG P M.
Rev. HILARITAS AVGVSTI. S.C. Hilaritas standing
 l. with palm-branch and patera.
- 138 Æ2. M COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. SALVS AVG TR P VII IMP IIII COS III PP. S.C.
 Salvs standing l. with sceptre, feeding serpent
 which rises from altar. C., 688
- 139 Æ2. As 138, but add BRIT. Laureate head r.
Rev. S.C. In exergue COS III. Emperor togate
 stands l., and offers sacrifice at tripod. (Pietas
 type).

CRISPINA (w. of Commodus).

- 140 Æ2. CRISPINA AVGVSTA. Bust to r.
Rev. HILARITAS. S.C. Hilaritas standing l. holding in r. hand long palm-branch and in l. hand cornuc.
 141 Æ2. As 140.
 142 Æ2. As 140.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. 193—211.

- 143 Æ1. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG TR POT VII.
Rev. P M TR P. S.C. Genius of Rome, nude, standing l. with a Victory in hand; at foot, eagle.
 144 Æ2. IMP CAES L SEPT SEV PERT AVG. Laureate head r.
Rev. Illegible. Fides (?) standing l., r. arm stretched.
 145 Æ1. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP V. Laureate head r.
Rev. . . . S.C. In exergue COS II PP. Trophy, at foot of which two Parthian captives.

IULIA DOMNA (w. of Sept. Severus).

- 146 Æ1. IVLIA [DOMNA]. Bust to r.
Rev. S.C. Venus (?) leaning on pillar to l.
 147 Æ2. IVLIA DOMNA AVG. Bust r. (brilliant portrait).
Rev. VENERI VICTR. S.C. Venus leaning on pillar to r. holding palm and globe.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER. 222—235.

- 148 Æ1. IMP ALEXANDER PIVS AVG.
Rev. PROVIDENTIA AVG. S.C. Providentia standing l. with cornuc. by modius. C., 509
 149 Æ1. IMP CAES M AVR SEV ALEXANDER AVG.
Rev. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. S.C. Winged Victory advancing l. with wreath and palm-branch.
 150 Æ1. As 148.
Rev. MARS VLTOR. S.C. advancing l. with spear, shield and standard. C., 161
 151 Æ2. IMP SEV ALEXANDER AVG. Laureate head r.
Rev. P M TR P VIII COS III PP. S.C. Liberty (?) with cap and spear standing to l.
 152 Æ1. IMP ALEXANDER PIVS AVG. Laureate head r.
Rev. MARS VLTOR. S.C. fully armed, advancing r. C., 169

IULIA MAMAEA (m. of Sev. Alexander).

- 153 Æ1. IULIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA.
Rev. VENVS FELIX. S.C. seated l., with Victory and
sceptre.
- 154 Æ1. IULIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA. Bust diademed and
draped r.
Rev. FELICITAS AVG. S.C. standing l. with caduceus
and cornuc. C., 10

MAXIMINUS I. 235—238.

- 155 Æ1. IMP MAXIMINVS AVG GERM.
Rev. SALVS AVGVSTI. S.C. seated l. feeding snake
on altar.
- 156 Æ1. MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG GERM. Head to r.
Rev. FIDES MILITVM. S.C. between two standards.
C., 13
- 157 Æ1. MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG GERM. Laureate bust r.
Rev. VICTORIA GERMANICA. S.C. standing l. with
palm and wreath: at feet, captive Teuton.
C., 109

GORDIAN III. (Pius). 238—244.

- 158 Æ1. IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG. Laureate bust
to r.
Rev. FELICIT TEMPOR. S.C. standing l. holding
cornuc. and caduceus.
- 159 Æ1. As 158.
Rev. P M TR P IIII COS II PP. S.C. Apollo seated l.
C., 244
Found under the ore-dressing floor at the Talargoch
Lead Mine, Dyserth, Flintshire. (See *Journal*
for Session 1882-3, N.S., Vol. I., pp. 136-7).
- 160 Æ1. As 158.
Rev. MARS PROPVG NAT. S.C. advancing l. C., 157
- 161 Æ1. IMP CAES M ANT GORDIANVS AVG.
Rev. PAX AVGVSTI. S.C. standing l. C., 175
- 162 Æ1. As 161.
Rev. VICTORIA AVG. S.C. advancing l.
- 163 Æ1. As 158.
- 164 Æ1. As 159.

GORDIAN III. (Pius.) 238—244.—*Continued.*

- 165 Æ1. (Col.) IMP CAES M ANT GORDIANVS AVG. Bare head r.
Rev. P[ROVINCIAE] M[OESIAE] S[UPERIORIS] COL VIM. In exergue AN III. Female figure standing facing between bull and lion. C., 418 (var.)
 (Viminacium on the Danube, founded by Gordian 240).
- 166 Æ2. IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. IOVI STATORI. S.C. facing with spear and fulmen.

PHILIP I. 244—249.

- 167 Æ1. IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG. Laureate bust r.
Rev. FIDES MILITVM. S.C. facing with spear and standard.
- 168 Æ1. As 167.
Rev. SECVRIT ORBIS. S.C. seated l., sceptre in l., right elbow on arm of chair.
- 169 Æ1. As 167.
Rev. AEQVITAS AVGG. S.C. standing l. with scales and cornuc. C., 10
- 170 Æ1. As 167.
Rev. FELICITAS TEMP. S.C. standing l. with caduceus and cornuc.

OTACILIA (w. of Philip I.).

- 171 Æ1. MARCIA OTACILIA SEVERA AVG. Diademed bust to r.
Rev. PIETAS AVGG. S.C. Empress sacrificing to l. at altar.
- 172 Æ1. As 171.
Rev. CONCORDIA AVGG. S.C. seated l. holding patera and double cornuc. C., 15

PHILIP II. 247—249.

- 173 Æ1. Legend as 167.
Rev. LIBERALITAS AVG III. S.C. The two Emperors seated l. on curule chairs side by side. C., 18
- 174 Æ2. Illegible. Philip I. or II. (?)
- 175 Æ2. As 167.
Rev. FIDES EXERCITVVM. S.C. Man standing l.

TRAJAN DECIUS. 248—251.

- 176 Æ1. IMP C M Q TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG. Laureate head r.
Rev. GENIVS EXERC ILLVRICANI. S.C. to l. with wreath and cornuc. : in field, a trophy. C., 68
- 177 Æ1. As 176.
Rev. LIBERALITAS AVG. S.C. standing l. holding cornuc. and tessera. C., 71

HERENNIA ETRUSCILLA (w. of Trajan Decius).

- 178 Æ1. HERENNIA ETRVSCILLA AVG. Diademed bust to r.
Rev. PVDICITIA AVG. S.C. Modesty seated l., veil thrown back over face : transverse sceptre. C., 22

TREBONIANUS GALLUS. 251—253.

- 179 Æ1. IMP CAE C VIBIVS TREBONIANVS [GALLVS]. Laureate r.
Rev. AETERNITAS AVGG. S.C. standing to l.
- 180 Æ1. As 179, but add CAES and AVG.
Rev. APOLL SALVTARIS. S.C. Apollo nude standing l., in r. hand laurel branch : resting l. hand on lyre. (Invoked because of pestilence in this reign).

VOLUSIANUS (son of Trebonianus). 251—253.

- 181 Æ1. IMP CAE C VIB VOLVSIANO AVG. Laureate bust r.
Rev. IVNONI MARTIALI. S.C. seated in round temple.
- 182 Æ1. As 181.

POSTUMUS (Sen.). 259—269.

- 183 Æ2. IMP C M CASS LAT POSTVMVS [PF AVG]. Radiate head r.
Rev. VICTORI AVG. S.C. standing l. with palm : captive in front.

AURELIAN. 270—275.

- 184 Æ2. IMP AVRELIANVS AVG. Bust laureate and curiassed to r.
Rev. CONCORDIA AVG. Severina gives hand to Aurelian facing her, in military dress : above, Soldier. In exergue **Δ**. C., 35

DIOCLETIAN. 284—305.

- 185 Æ2. (Follis) IMP C C VAL DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG.
Laureate head r.
Rev. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI standing l. with wreath
and cornuc. In exergue TSA (Thessalonica).
- 186 Æ2. As 185, but IMP C V. Laureate head r.

MAXIMIAN I. (Herculeus). 286—308.

- 187 Æ2. IMP C MAXIMIANVS PF AVG. Laureate head r.
head r.
Rev. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. In exergue s[ISCIA]
- 188 Æ2. . . . MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.
Rev. As 187. In exergue SIS: in field, Γ.

CONSTANTIUS I. (Chlorus). 305—306.

- 189 Æ2. (Follis) CONSTANTIVS NOBIL C. Laureate head r.
Rev. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. In field, SF: in
exergue TR.
- 190 Æ2. FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C. Laureate and
cuirassed bust r.
Rev. As 189. Genius wearing modius, loose
mantle, holding patera and cornuc.

MAXIMIANUS II. 305—311.

- 191 Æ2. GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES. Laureate
head r.
Rev. As 189. Genius wearing modius. In exergue
ANT.

MAXIMINUS II. (Daza). 308—313.

- 192 Æ2. GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB CAES. Laureate
head r.
Rev. GENIO CAESARIS. Type as 190: in exergue
HTA (Heraclea).

MAXENTIVS. 306—312.

- 193 Æ2. IMP C MAXENTIVS P F AVG. Laureate head r.
Rev. CONSERV VRB SVAE. Rome seated in hexa-
style temple, holding globe and sceptre. In
exergue RBT (?)
- 194 Æ2. As 193.
Rev. AETERNITAS AVGG. Castor and Pollux facing:
" lucida sidera " on brows. In exergue MOSTP.
- 195 Æ2. As 193.
Rev. As 193, but in field H, in exergue REP (?).

CONSTANTINUS I. 307—337.

- 196 Æ2. FL VAL CONSTANTINVS P F AVG. Laureate head r.
Rev. GENIO CAESARIS . . . In exergue SMND.

CONSTANTIUS II. 337—361.

- 197 Æ2. D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Diademed bust in cloak r.
Rev. FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Armed warrior on r. pierces fallen horseman: in field **Γ**: in exergue CONS II.
 198 Æ2. As 197.
Rev. As 197, but in exergue ALEA.

MAGNENTIUS. 350—353.

- 199 Æ2. D N MAGNENTIVS P F AVG. Bareheaded r. and draped: in field, A.
Rev. VICTORIA DD NN AVG ET CAE. Two Victories holding between them wreath, within which VOT V MVLT X. In exergue AMB[IANUM]. C., 68
 200 Æ2. As 199.
Rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM. Emperor gallops r. and spears kneeling foe: under horse, shield and broken spear. In exergue TRP. C., 20
 201 Æ2. As 200.

GRATIANUS. 367—383.

- 202 Æ2. D N GRATIANVS P F AVG. Diademed head r.
Rev. REPARATIO REIPVB. Emperor holding a Victory in r. hand, turning to kneeling woman l. In exergue SMRP.

THEODOSIUS I. 379—395.

- 203 Æ. D. N. THEODOSIVS P F AVG. Bust diademed and draped to r.
Rev. REPARATIO REIPVB. Type as 202, but ANT.

MAIN COLLECTION.

AR, AE3, and BILLON.

MARCUS ANTONIUS (*circ.* B.C. 40) and OCTAVIAN.

- 204 AR. M ANT IMP AVG IIIVIR RP C M BARBAT Q P.
 Marcus Antonius. Bare head to r.
Rev. CAESAR IMP PONT IIIVIR RP C. Octavian.
 Bare head to r. C., 7

VESPASIAN. 69—79.

- 205 AR. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG. Laureate head
 r.
Rev. PON MAX TR P COS VI. Female seated l. hold-
 ing branch. C., 366
- 206 AR. As 205, but head to l.
Rev. TR P COS . . . PON MAX. Winged caduceus.

DOMITIAN. 81—96.

- 207 AR. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P VI. Laureate
 head r.
Rev. IMP XXII COS XV CENS PER. Pallas standing
 r. hurling javelin and holding shield. C., 279
- 208 AR. As 207, but TR P XI.
Rev. IMP XX COS XV CENS PERP. Pallas helmeted,
 standing l., long spear in r. hand. l. hand on hip.

HADRIAN. 117—138.

- 209 AR. IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG. Laureate
 bust r.
Rev. IMP TR P COS III. Pietas seated l. with patera.
- 210 AR. HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP. Laureate bust r.
Rev. PIETAS AVG standing l. with patera above
 altar.

ANTONINUS PIUS. 138—161.

- 211 AR. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TR P COS III. Bare
 head r.
Rev. CLEMENTIA AVG standing l. with sceptre and
 patera.
- 212 AR. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS. Laureate head r.
Rev. TR POT COS III. In field, LIBERTAS (?)
 Figure standing l. with cornuc.

FAUSTINA (Sen.), w. of Ant. Pius.

- 213 AR. DIVA FAUSTINA. Bust crowned and draped to r.
Rev. AETERNITAS. Draped throne and sceptre : in front a phoenix.

FAUSTINA (Jun.), wife of M. Aurelius.

- 214 AR. FAUSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust to r.
Rev. SAECVLI FELICIT. The twin brothers (Commodus and Antoninus) in a lectisternium. C., 190

LUCIUS VERUS. 161—169.

- 215 AR. IMP L VERVS AVG. Bare head to r.
Rev. PROV. DEOR TR P COS II standing l. with globe and cornuc. C., 144

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. 193—211.

- 216 AR. . . . SEVERVS PIVS AVG. Laureate head r.
Rev. Legend illegible. Victory advancing l. with wreath.

GETA. 211—212.

- 217 AR. (Quinarius) . . . CAES PONTIF. Young bare head r.
Rev. PRINCIPI IVVENT. Emperor in military cloak with spear and sword standing l.; behind, trophy. C., 157 (var.)
- 218 AR. P SEPT GETA PIVS AVG BRIT. Laureate head (old) r.
Rev. LIBERALITAS AVG. V. L. with tessera and cornuc. standing r.

ELAGABALUS. 218—222.

- 219 AR. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. Laureate bust r. (young head).
Rev. VICT PARTHICA. Winged Victory advancing l. with ball. In field X. (mark of Elagabalus).

IULIA SOAEMIAS (m. of Elagabalus).

- 220 AR. IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG. Bust to r.
Rev. VENVS CAELESTIS seated l. holding sceptre and apple : at her feet, Cupid. C., 14

SEVERUS ALEXANDER. 222—235.

- 221 AR. IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG. Laureate bust r.
 Rev. PERPETVITATI AVG. Female figure standing
 1. holding globe and sceptre: elbow resting on
 pillar.

PHILIP I. 244—249.

- 222 Æ3. IMP PHILIPPVS AVG. Radiate head r.
 Rev. AEQVITAS AVG standing 1. with balance and
 cornuc.

TRAJAN DECIUS. 248—251.

- 223 ANTONINIANUS. IMP C M Q TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG.
 Radiate head r.
 Rev. DACIA standing 1. with staff surmounted by
 ass's head. C., 16

GALLIENUS. 253—268.

- 224 Æ3. GALLIENVS AVG. Radiate head r.
 Rev. VBERTAS AVG. Fertility standing 1. holding
 purse (see *Stevenson's Dict. of R.C.*) and cornuc.
 In field ε
- 225 Æ3. As 224.
 Rev. IVBENTVS AVG. Gallienus facing, with Vic-
 tory and spear.
- 226 Æ3. As 224, but bearded and cuirassed.
 Rev. ABVNDANTIA standing r.
- 227 Æ3. As 224.
 Rev. DIANAE CONS AVG. Stag to r. Beneath XI.
- 228 Æ3. As 227, but stag's head to l. In exergue ε
 (F.D.C.) (Gallienus' father, Valerian, was a
 worshipper of Diana the Preserver and dedicated
 to her at Rome the Aedes Valeriana).
- 229 Æ3. As 224.
 Rev. SOLI CONS AVG. Pegasus to r.
- 230 Æ3. As 224.
 Rev. PIETAS AVG standing to l., arm extended.
- 231 ANT. As 224.
 Rev. APOLLINI CONS AVG. Centaur to r. (R.R.)

VALERIAN I. 253—261.

- 232 Æ3. . . . VALERIANVS . . . Laureate bust to r.
 Rev. VOT in wreath.

POSTUMUS (Senr.). 259—269.

- 233 Æ3. IMP C POSTVMVS P F AVG. Radiate bust to r.
Rev. HERC PACIFERO standing, nude, to l., with club.
- 234 ANT. As 233.
Rev. In exergue LAETITIA AVG. Galley going l. with four rowers and pilot.

VICTORINUS (in Gaul). 265—268.

- 235 Æ3. IMP . . . VICTORINVS PP AVG. Radiate head to r.
Rev. Illegible.
- 236 ANT. IMP C VICTORINVS P F AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. PIETAS AVG standing l. dropping incense on lighted altar. C., 90
- 237 Æ3. As 236.
Rev. PAX AVG. Nude figure standing to r.
- 238 Æ3. As 236.
Rev. PAX AVG standing l. with olive-branch and transverse sceptre : in field v and star (Lyons). C., 79
- 239 Æ3. As 238.
- 240 Æ3. As 238.
- 241 Æ3. As 238.
Rev. INVICTVS. Sol marching l., whip in r. hand : in field, star (Lyons). C., 49.
- 242 Æ3. As 238.
Rev. SALVS (?) AVG standing l. at altar with snake.

TETRICUS I. (in Gaul). 268—273.

- 243 Æ3. IMP C TETRICVS P F AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. PAX AVG to l. with cornuc.
- 244 Æ3. As 243.
Rev. HILARITAS (?) AVGG to l. with palm-branch and cornuc. In field, star. C., 54
- 245 Æ3. As 244.

TETRICUS II. (son of I.). 268

- 246 Æ3. C PIV ESV TETRICVS C AVG. Young radiate head r.
Rev. SPES AVGG. Hope advancing l. with flower and holding up her dress. In field, star. C., 88
- 247 Æ3. As 246.
Rev. Misstruck and illegible.

CLAUDIUS II. (Gothicus). 268—270.

- 248 Æ3. IMP CLAVDIVS AVG. Radiate and cuirassed to r.
Rev. FIDES EXERCI standing l. with standard.
- 249 Æ3. As 248.
Rev. . . . VICTORI standing l. with spear.
- 250 Æ3. As 248, but IMP C.
Rev. AEQVITAS AVG to l. with balance and cornuc.
- 251 Æ3. DIVO CLAVDIO. Type as 248.
Rev. MEMORIAE AETERNAE. Eagle to r.
 C., 174 (var.)
- 252 Æ3. As 248.
Rev. As 250.

AURELIAN. 270—275.

- 253 Æ3. IMP C AVRELIANVS AVG. Radiate and cuirassed r.
Rev. ORIENS AVG. Soldier radiate advancing r. on either side, captive. In exergue PXXT.

TACITUS. 275—276.

- 254 Æ3. IMP CL TACITVS AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. MARS VICTOR marching r. with spear and trophy. In field, B.A. C., 57 (var.)
- 255 Æ3. As 254.
Rev. FIDES MILITVM standing l. between two military ensigns: in field B.A.

PROBUS. 276—281.

- 256 Æ3. IMP C PROBVS P F AVG. Radiate bust l. in imperial mantle, holding sceptre surmounted by eagle.
Rev. SALVS AVG standing r. feeding serpent in her arms. In field, v and star. In exergue TXXI.
 C., 584 (var.)
- 257 Æ3. IMP C M AVR PROBVS AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. PROVIDEN DEOR: woman on l. holding two military standards, opposite whom Sol with radiate head, r. hand lifted and globe in l. In exergue KHM (Tripoli).

CARINUS. 283—285.

- 258 Æ3. IMP CARINVS P F AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. FELICIT PVBLICA leaning on pillar, holding branch to r. T[RIER] XXI.

DIOCLETIAN. 284—305.

- 259 Æ3. IMP C C VAL DIOCLETIANVS P P AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI to l. with sceptre and fulmen. In field, D.
- 260 Æ3. As 259.
Rev. VOT in wreath.
 XX

MAXIMIANUS I. (Herculeus). 286—308.

- 261 Æ3. IMP C MA VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. Illegible.

CARAUSIUS (in Britain). 286—293.

- 262 Æ3. IMP CARAVSIVS P F AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. . . . AVG. Victory standing l. with wreath and palm.

ALLECTUS (in Britain). 293—296.

- 263 Æ3. IMP C ALLECTVS P F AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. PAX AVG standing l. with olive-branch and transverse sceptre: in field, SP: in exergue ML (London).
 C., 37

MAXIMIANUS II. 305—311.

- 264 Æ3. IMP G VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. HERCVLI PACIFERO nude, standing l., olive-branch in r. hand, club and lion skin in left hand. In exergue PML (Lyons)
- 265 Æ3. GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES. Radiate bust r.
Rev. CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM. In field, A: in exergue, ALE.

LICINIUS I. 307—324.

- 266 Æ3. IMP LIC LICINIVS P F AVG. Laureate head r.
Rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI standing l. with sceptre, holding Victory: eagle at foot. In field, ε
 In exergue SIS[CIA].
- 267 Æ3. As 266, but omit LIC. Laureate head r.
Rev. GENIO POP ROM standing l. with patera and cornuc. In field, SF. In exergue PLN (London).
 C., 49 (var.)
- 268 Æ3. As 267.

LICINIUS II. 317—326.

- 269 Æ3. D N VAL LICIN LICINIVS NOB C . Bust helmeted and cuirassed to l.
Rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI. Victory to r. captive sitting : to l. eagle : in field, X
 III

CONSTANTINE I. 307—337.

- 270 Æ3. CONSTANTINVS P F AVG. Laureate and cuirassed bust to r.
Rev. SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Sol radiate l. lifting r hand and holding globe in l. In field, r and star : in exergue, PTR. C., 525 (var.)
- 271 Æ3. As 270. In exergue, PLN (London).
- 272 Æ3. As 270. In field, TP. In exergue, PLN.
- 273 Æ3. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Laureate head r.
Rev. PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. Praetorian Gate : on top, star between two globes. In exergue STP.
- 274 Æ3. As 270.
Rev. As 272.
- 275 Æ3. As 270, but helmeted and cuirassed.
Rev. CONCORDIA.
- 276 Æ3. CONSTANTINVS AVG. Helmeted and cuirassed bust to r.
Rev. BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. Altar surmounted by globe above which three stars : on front VOTIS
 XX
 C., 15
- 277 Æ3. As 270. Large head.
Rev. As 270, but eagle holding wreath : Victory (in place of globe). In field, Π
- 278 Æ3. IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG. Laureate head r., cuirass.
Rev. As 270, but no eagle : ball in hand : in field, SF. In exergue PLN. C., 530

CONSTANTINE II. 337—340.

- 279 Æ3. CONSTANTINVS AVG P F. Radiate young head r. : cuirassed.
Rev. FIDES EXERCIT. Two captives sitting on either side of standard, on which VOT In
 XX

CONSTANTINE II. 337—340.—*Continued.*

- 280 Æ3. CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C. Laureate and cuirassed to r.
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers helmeted facing each other with reversed spears: between two military standards, leaning on shields. In exergue TRP and star. C., 114 (var.)
- 281 Æ3. As 280, but N C. Portrait to l.
Rev. BEAT TRANQVITAS. Type as 276. In field, FB. In exergue PLON. C., 8
- 282 Æ3. As 280. Radiate head r.
Rev. DOMINOR NOSTROR CAESS round laurel wreath, in which VOT X. In exergue SIS. C., 97
- 283 Æ3. FL IVL CONSTANTINVS NOB C. Laureate and draped to r.
Rev. As 280. In exergue CONOB.
- 284 Æ3. As 281, but helmeted.
- 285 Æ3. FL CONSTANTINVS N C.
Rev. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS SPQR.

CRISPUS. 317—326.

- 286 Æ3. FL IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES. Laureate bust to r.
Rev. SECVRITAS PVBLICA. Soli Invicto type. In field, TR.
- 287 Æ3. CRISPVS NOBIL C. Helmeted head r.: cuirassed.
Rev. As 281. In exergue PLON. C., 27

CONSTANTINOPOLIS & VRBS ROMA.

- 288 Æ3. CONSTANTINOPOLIS. Helmeted and cuirassed bust l. with sceptre.
Rev. Winged figure to l. with shield and spear: eagle at foot. In exergue PLG.
- 289 Æ3. VRBS ROMA. As 288, but bust to r.
Rev. Wolf and twins: above, two stars. In exergue TR.
- 290 Minim. As 288.
Rev. As 289. In exergue TR.
- 291 Minim. As 288. In exergue PMN (Nicomedia?).
- 292 Minim. As 288. In exergue TR.

CONSTANS I. 337—350.

- 293 Æ3. D N CONSTANS P F AVG. Diademed head to r.
Rev. GLORIA REIPVBLICAE.

CONSTANS I. 337—350.—*Continued.*

- 294 Æ2. (small). As 293. Diademed, draped, and cuirassed. Behind, A.
Rev. FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Emperor in military dress, standing l. on vessel, holding in one hand globe and Victory, in other, labarum: to r. on vessel Victory steering: in field, A. In exergue TR (and star). C., 13
- 295 Æ3. As 293.
Rev. Legend as 294. Eagle on mound to r. holding wreath. In exergue TS (Thessalonica).
- 296 Æ3. As 294.

CONSTANTIUS II. 337—361.

- 297 Æ3. D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Diademed bust l.: sceptre.
Rev. Legend as 294. Emperor advancing l. with shield and labarum: two prisoners seated before him: in field, star: in exergue ANT.
- 298 Æ3. As 297. Head to r.
Rev. Legend as 297. Soldier r. spearing prostrate horseman.

MAGNENTIUS. 350—353.

- 299 Æ3. D N MAGNENTIVS . . . Laureate head to r.
Rev. FELICITAS PVBLICA. Emperor holding globe surmounted by Victory to l. In exergue SA.
- 300 Æ3. IMP MAGNENTIVS P F AVG. Bare head r.; behind, X.
Rev. VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE. Two Victories facing each other, with wreath in which VOT V. In exergue B. MVLT X

CONSTANTIUS GALLUS. 351—354.

- 301 Æ3. D N CONSTANTIVS IVN NOB C. Diademed head to r.
Rev. As 298.

VALENS. 364—378.

- 302 Æ3. D N VALENS P F AVG. Diademed head to r.
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVVM. Soldier dragging captive r.
- 303 Æ3. As 302.
Rev. SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE advancing l. with wreath and palm. In field, †

VALENS. 364—378.—*Continued.*

- 304 Æ3. As 302.
Rev. As 303. In field, RCA (long). In exergue,
 SIS.
 305 Æ3. As 302. In exergue CON.
 306 Æ3. As 302.
Rev. As 303. In exergue PCON.

GRATIANUS. 367—383.

- 307 Æ3. D N GRATIANVS P F AVG. Diademed head r. :
 cuirass.
Rev. GLORIA ROMANORVM. Emperor advancing r.
 with labarum in l. hand, drags barbarian by
 hair. In exergue PCON. C., 23
 308 Æ3. As 307. In exergue P CON.

ARCADIUS. 383—408.

- 309 Æ3. D N ARCADIVS P P AVG. Diademed and draped
 to r.
Rev. VICTORIA AVGGG. Victory on r. crowns
 Emperor, who holds labarum in r. In exergue
 ANT A.



THIRTY-THREE CHESTER-FOUND COINS

Presented by Rev. F. A. Potts

(Museum Numbers, 92 to 117).

VESPASIAN.

- 1 Æ2. IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG COS VIII PP. Laureate head r.
Rev. FORTVNAE REDVCI. S.C. standing l. with cornuc. in l.
- 2 Æ2. As 1.
Rev. FIDES PVBLICA. S.C. standing l. with cornuc. in l. : wreath in r.
- 3 Æ2. As 2.

TITUS.

- 4 Æ2. T CAES IMP AVG F TR P COS II CENSOR. Laureate head r.
Rev. Illegible : similar to 2 and 3.

DOMITIAN.

- 5 Æ2. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XII CENS POT PP. Laureate head r.
Rev. MONETA AVGVSTI. S.C. standing l. with scales and cornuc. C., 327
- 6 Æ2. As 5, but COS XIII CENS PER PP.
Rev. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI. S.C. standing r. : foot on helmet, holding spear and parazonium. C., 650
- 7 AR. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P P TR P XIII. Laureate head r.
Rev. IMP XXII COS XVI CENS P PP. Pallas standing r. hurling javelin and holding shield. C., 280

TRAJAN.

- 8 Æ1. IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS V PP. Laureate bust r.
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. S.C. Trajan galloping r. : hurling spear at enemy. C., 503 (RR)
- 9 Æ2. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM P M. Radiate head of Nerva to r.
Rev. TR POT COS II. S.C. Peace seated l. in chair ending in cornuc., holding branch.
- 10 Æ2. As 9.

TRAJAN.—*Continued.*

- 11 Æ2. (A.D. 116) IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG
GER DAC PARTHICO P M TR P COS. Radiate and
draped bust r.
Rev. PROVIDENTIAE AVGVSTI SPQR. S.C. standing
l. : at her feet globe. C., 322
- 12 Æ2. As 11.
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. S.C. Figure seated
r. before trophy.
- 13 Æ2. As 11.
Rev. Same legend. Fortune standing l. : rudder
and cornuc.
- 14 AR. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P. Laureate
bust r.
Rev. COS V PP SPQR OPTIMO PRINC. Victory stand-
ing l. with wreath and laurel branch.

HADRIAN.

- 15 Æ2. IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG P M TR
P COS III. Radiate head r.
Rev. MONETA AVGVSTI. S.C. standing l. with scales
and cornuc. C., 976
- 16 Æ1. Same legend as 15. Laureate head r.
Rev. As 15.
(Found in Bridge Street, 1891).

ANTONINUS PIUS.

- 17 Æ1. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP. Laureate head r.
Rev. TR POT COS III. S.C. Half-draped male
figure standing r. (Janus head), with spear or
sceptre.
- 18 Æ2. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TR P XVIII. Laureate
head r.
Rev. BRITANNIA COS IIII. S.C. seated l. on rock on
which she rests l. hand ; in front, standard and
shield. C., 117
- 19 AR. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TR P XII. Laureate
head r.
Rev. COS IIII. Salus standing l. holds rudder in
r. : in l. patera from which she feeds snake on
altar.

FAUSTINA (Sen.).

- 20 Æ1. DIVA FAVSTINA. Bust r.
Rev. AVGVSTA. S.C. Ceres standing l. with torch
and palladium. C., 118

MARCUS AURELIUS.

- 21 Æ1. M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXIII. Laureate bust r.

Rev. IMP VI COS III. S.C. In exergue LIBERALITAS AVG V. Emperor seated on estrade to l. : behind, captain of Praetorian Cohort : in front, Liberalitas : client ascending estrade on l.

CRISPINA (w. of Commodus).

- 22 AR. CRISPINA AVGVSTA. Bust to r.

Rev. IVNO standing l. holding patera and sceptre.

MAXIMIANUS (Herculeus).

- 23 Æ2. (follis) IMP C MAXIMIAN . . . Laureate head l., cuirass, sword.

Rev. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI standing l. with patera over altar : in field, P (?) : in exergue PLG.

CONSTANTIUS I. (Chlorus).

- 24 Æ3. CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Laureate head r.

Rev. SOLI INVICTO COMITI standing l. : in field, S. : in exergue, PLG.

- 25 Æ2. CONSTANTIVS NOB C. Laureate head r. cuirassed.

Rev. (GENIO) POPVLI ROMANI standing l. wearing modius : with patera and cornuc.

LICINIUS I.

- 26 Æ3. IMP C VAL LICIN LICINIVS P F AVG. Radiate head r.

Rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI standing l. holding in r. a Victory on globe : in l. sceptre : at his feet l. eagle with wreath : on r. captive. In exergue, SIS.

CONSTANTINE I.

- 27 Æ3. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG. Diademed and cuirassed r.

Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers with standard. In exergue, PLG.

CRISPUS.

- 28 Æ3. CRISPVS NOB CAES. Laureate head l.

Rev. PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Praetorian Gate. In exergue, T AR[LES].

CONSTANS.

- 29 Æ3. CONSTANS P F AVG. Diademed head r.
Rev. VICTORIAE DD NN AVG . . . two Victories
 facing with laurel wreath.

MAGNENTIUS.

- 30 Æ2. D N MAGNENTIVS P F AVG. Bareheaded and
 draped r.
Rev. VICTORIAE DD NN AVG ET CAE. Two Victories
 holding a wreath within which VOT V MVLT X :
 above ♀
- 31 Æ2. As 30. Behind, A.
- 32 Æ2. As 30, but diademed.
Rev. FELICITAS REIPVBLICAE. Emperor standing
 1. holding Victory on globe in r. : labarum in l.
 In exergue P AR[LES].

DECENTIUS.

- 33 Æ2. D N DECENTIVS CAES . . . bareheaded r.
Rev. Legend as 30. ♀

TWELVE CHESTER-FOUND COINS

Presented by Mr. Granger, Jun. (ex Potts Coll.) 1906

(Museum Number, 246).

TIBERIUS.

- 1 Æ2. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVST IMP VIII. Bare
 head l.
Rev. PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POTEST XXIII round
 s.c. Dot border.

TITUS.

- 2 Æ1. Illegible.
Rev. Illegible. s.c. Female figure standing 1.
- 3 Æ2. Illegible. Head r. as 2.
Rev. Illegible.

DOMITIAN.

- 4 Æ1. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM . . . Laureate
 head r.
Rev. Jupiter seated 1. holding a Victory.

DOMITIAN.—*Continued.*

- 5 Æ2. IMP CAES DOMITIAN AVG GERM COS XI. Laureate head r.
Rev. SALVTI AVGVSTI around altar. S.C.
- 6 Æ1. . . . AVG GERM COS XV CENS . . . head r.
Rev. Seated figure (perhaps Salus) to l.

TRAJAN.

- 7 Æ1. Illegible.
- 8 Æ1. Full legend : laureate head r.
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. S.C. Female figure standing l. with cornuc.

HADRIAN.

- 9 Æ1. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Laureate head r.
Rev. Britannia (?) seated l. on shield. In exergue S.C.
- 10 Æ2. Laureate head r.
Rev. Illegible.

COMMODUS.

- 11 Æ3. IMP CO . . . VS PIVS. Laureate head r.
Rev. SECVRIT PVBLICA. S.C. leaning l. on pillar, with staff. (Found in Handbridge, May, 1906).

VICTORINUS.

- 12 Æ3. Radiate head r.
Rev. INVICTVS. Sol marching l. lifting r. hand and holding whip.

FOUND ON MASONIC HALL SITE (HUNTER STREET) 1909,

The Gift of Lord Leverhulme.

(CA, 323 to 333. M.Sc.).

DOMITIAN.

- 1 Æ1. IMP CAES DOMITIAN AVG GERM COS XI (A.D. 85). Laureate head r.
Rev. S.C. Emperor standing l. with spear : at his feet, a River God (Rhine).

NERVA.

- 2 Æ1. [IMP NERVA CAES] AVG P M TR P COS II PP.
 Laureate head r.
Rev. [LIBERTAS] PVBLICA. S.C. standing l. with
 Phrygian cap and sceptre.

TRAJAN.

- 3 Æ1. IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC [P M
 TR P COS PP]. Laureate head r.
Rev. SPQR OPTIMIO PRINCIPI. S.C. Winged Vic-
 tory advancing r. In front, round shield on tree
 trunk on which VIC DAC.

HADRIAN.

- 4 Æ1. IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS . . . Laureate
 head r.
Rev. [PON MAX] TR P COS III. S.C. Figure stand-
 ing l. with Victory and sceptre.

FAUSTINA (Jun.)

- 5 Æ2. FAVSTINA AVG PII AVG FIL. Bust r.
Rev. HILARITAS. S.C. standing l. with child on
 either side. (Said by British Museum to be un-
 published).

COMMODUS.

- 6 AR. L AVREL COMMODVS AVG. Laureate head r.
Rev. TR P IIII IMP II COS PP. Ceres standing l.
 with ears of corn and palm-branch.

CONSTANTIUS II.

- 7 Æ3. IMP CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Diademed head l.
Rev. FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Soldier dragging cap-
 tive from hut. In exergue PLG.

CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

- 8 Æ3. Helmeted and cuirassed bust l. with sceptre.
Rev. Winged figure l. with shield and spear:
 eagle at foot.

RECENT ADDITIONS, BY GIFT OR PURCHASE

(In numbered envelopes—not exhibited).

REPUBLICAN (B.C. 89). Poblícia family (C. Pobl.
Malleolus).

- 1 AR. (denarius). Head of Mars to r.: above,
hammer.
Rev. C MAL. Hero standing to l. before trophy.
(Dickson's Nurseries, Upton—purchased).

VESPASIAN (or Titus).

- 2 Æ2. Head l.
Rev. Illegible. (Foregate St., 1904—gift of Mr.
Vernon).
- 3 Æ2. IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG COS VIII P M. Laureate
head r.
Rev. PROVIDEN. S.C. Altar. (Hunter Street—
gift of Mr. Lockwood).
- 4 Æ2. As 3, but COS IIII. Radiate head r.
Rev. PAX AVG. S.C. standing l. with cornuc. and
patera above altar. (Chester, June, 1898—pur-
chased).

DOMITIAN.

- 5 Æ2. IMP AVG DOMITIAN. Head r.
Rev. Illegible. Perh. Moneta l. (Race Course,
August 12th, 1899—gift of Mr. E. Davies).
- 6 Æ2. Head r.
Rev. SALVS AVGVSTI. S.C. standing l. (Bridge
Street—*vide Journal*).
- 7 Æ2. . . . CAES AVG P M TR P. Laureate head r.
Rev. FORTVNAE REDVCI. S.C. standing l. with
cornuc. (Bank of Dee, 1899).

TRAJAN.

- 8 AR. Head r.
Rev. Illegible. (Foregate St., 1904—gift of Mr.
Vernon).
- 9 Æ2. IMP NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM. Radiate head r.
Rev. TR P COS II. Abundance seated l. (Hunter
St., 1899—purchased).

HADRIAN.

- 10 Æ2. IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS. Laureate head r.
Rev. MONETA AVGVSTI. S.C. standing l. (Chester, 1904—purchased).

ANTONINUS PIUS.

- 11 Æ1. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP. Laureate head r.
Rev. PIETAS AVGVSTI. S.C. standing l. between two children. (Chester).
 12 Æ1. Head r.
Rev. Illegible. (Hunter St., Sept. 10th, 1899—purchased).
 13 Æ2. Head r.
Rev. Illegible. (Bottom Lane, Percy Road, March, 1905).

LUCIUS VERUS.

- 14 AR. L VERVS AVG ARMENIACVS. Laureate head r.
Rev. TR P IIII IMP II COS II. Emperor standing r. with spear and shield. (Rowton Moor, 1889).

VALERIAN I.

- 15 Æ3. IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS PP AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. VICTORIA AVGG standing l. (Hunter Street—purchased).

GALLIENUS.(?)

- 16 Æ3. Head r.
Rev. Wolf and twins. (Hunter St., Sept. 10th, 1899—purchased).

TETRICUS I.

- 17 Æ3. Head r.
Rev. Illegible. (Little Dolphin, Foregate St., April 1st, 1904).

AURELIAN.(?)

- 18 Æ3. Head r.
Rev. Illegible. (Gift of Mr. Vernon).
 19 Æ3. (Alexandrian Mint) AK K AYΦAIAHOC ΣEB
 Laureate head r.
Rev. Emperor togate l. holding a Victory. (Chester, Jan. 26th, 1899—purchased).

DIOCLETIAN.

- 20 Æ3. (Alex.) AK Γ VAA ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ
 Laureate head r.
Rev. Rome helmeted seated l. holding Victory.
 (Chester, Jan. 26th, 1899—purchased).

CARAUSIUS.

- 21 Æ3. IMP CARAVSIVS PP AVG. Radiate head r.
Rev. PAX AVG III. (Found, with bronze ring, and
 No. 28, in St. Werburgh's Street, October, 1896).
 22 Æ3. Head r.
Rev. CONCORDIA standing l. (Hunter St., Aug.,
 1899—purchased).
 23 Æ3. (large flan) IMP CARAVSIVS P F AVG. Radiate
 head r.
Rev. PROVIDEN AVG standing l.
 24 Æ3. As 23. Providentia with cornuc and rudder.
 (V.F.)
 25 Æ3. As 23. Providentia with Sceptre.
 (The above three—no mint marks—Hunter Street,
 1899—purchased).

CONSTANTINE I.

- 26 Æ3. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG. Diademed head r.
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS (two standards). In
 exergue PLG. (Bridge Street—*vide Journal*).
 27 (quinarius). Illegible. (Bridge St.—*vide Journal*).

CONSTANTIUS II.

- 28 Æ3. CONSTANTIVS NOB C. Diademed head l.
Rev. PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Praetorian Gate sur-
 mounted by balls and star. In exergue P TR[EVS].
 (*Vide* 21).

CONSTANS.

- 29 (quinarius). Diademed head r.
Rev. Illegible. (Bridge Street—*vide Journal*).

VALENS.

- 30 Æ3. D N VALENS P F AVG. Diademed head r.
Rev. VICTORIAE DD AVGG NN advancing r. with
 standard, dragging captive. In exergue TR P.
 (Gift of the Precentor).

CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

- 31 Æ3. Helmeted warrior's head l.
Rev. Victory. (Hunter St., Aug. 10th, 1899—
 purchased).
- 32 Æ3. (or Antoninianus). Illegible.
- 33 Æ3 (or Antoninianus). Illegible.
 (These two were found, with a bronze fragment, in
 Foregate St. in April, 1904, and are the gift of
 Mr. Vernon).
- 34 Æ3. Illegible. (Bridge Street—*vide Journal*).
- 35 Æ3. (large flan). Illegible.
Rev. Female figure standing l. (Rowton Moor,
 1899).

The above coins, with few exceptions, are in very poor condition.

THE BULLIN COLLECTION

Fifty-two Æ3, found in White Friars, of Third Century and
 Constantine period—in very poor state

(These are in numbered envelopes).

For an account of the excavations on this site in 1884
 see Watkin's "*Roman Cheshire*," pp. 147—150.

- 1 ANT. IMP GORDIANVS [III] PIVS FEL AVG. Radiate
 head r.

Rev. SECVRIT PERPET standing l. with spear.

- 2 Æ3. Gallienus. Head r.

Rev. Illegible.

- 3 Æ3. Postumus. Radiate head r.

Rev. Illegible.

- 4 Æ3. Victorinus.

(a) IMP C VICTORINVS P F AVG. Radiate head r.

Rev. INVICTVS. Sol marching l. with whip.

In field, star.

(b) do. do. do.

(c) do. do. do.

- 5 Æ3. Claudius Gothicus.

(a) DIVO CLAVDIO. Radiate head r.

Rev. VIRTVS AVG (?). Armed figure stand-
 ing l.

(b) do. do. do.

(c) do. do. do.

(d) do. do. (fragments)

(e) Constantine II.

CONSTANTINVS NOB C. Diademed head l.

Rev. BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. Altar with VOTIS
 XX. In exergue P TS (Thessaly).

- 6 Æ3. Three of Victorinus, head r.
Five of Tetricus I., head r.
Four of Claudius Gothicus (one Eagle Rev.)
One illegible.
- 7 Æ3. Ten (including fragments) of Tetricus (?)
One of Constantine I.
One of Constantine II.
One of Crispus.
- 8 Æ3. Five of Constantine I.
Reverses. PROVIDENTIAE AVGG & GLORIA EXERCITVS.
Mint marks, SIS and TR.
- 9 Æ3. Ten of Tetricus I.
Reverses. SALVS AVG, FELICITAS AVG, etc.

FORTY-THREE Æ3

**Part of a hoard of 1500, found on Moel Fenlle (s. of Moel
Famau) Llanferres, July, 1816. Donor : Rev. F. A. Potts**

(Museum Catalogue, No. 91).

CONSTANTINE I.

- 1 CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG. Diademed head r.
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Soldiers standing on
either side of single or double standards. In
exergue TR P.
- 2 As 1. In exergue CONOB.
- 3 As 3. Corselet.
Rev. Wreath above standards. In exergue s
CONS T.
- 4 As 3. In exergue, TR P.
- 5 As 3.
- 6 As 3. In exergue TR P.
- 7 As 3. In exergue s CONS T.
- 8 As 3. In exergue CONS H.
- 9 As 3.
- 10 As 3.

HELENA (d. of Constantine I., w. of Julian
the Apostate.)

- 11 FL IVLIA HELENA. Head r.
Rev. PAX PVBLICA. In exergue TR P.

CONSTANTINE II.

- 12 CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C. Diademed and corseleted r.
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. In exergue P LG.
 13 As 12. In exergue SIS.
 14 As 12.
Rev. Single standard. In exergue S LG.
 15 As 12. In exergue TR S.
 16 As 12. In exergue LG.
 17 As 12. Star above standard. In exergue TR P.
 18 As 12. In exergue SIS.
 19 As 12. In exergue SIS.
 20 As 12. fragment.

CONSTANTIUS II.

- 21 FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NO C. Diademed and corseleted r.
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Single standard. In
 exergue TR S (with branch).
 22 As 21, but NOB. Two standards. In exergue TR S.
 23 As 22.
 24 As 22.
Rev. As 21. In exergue TR P.

CONSTANS I.

- 25 CONSTANS P F AVG. Diademed head r.
Rev. VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN. Two Victories with
 shield. In exergue TR P.
 26 As 25. Broken.
 27 As 26.
 28 NOB C.
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS single standard. In
 exergue TR S.

CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

- 29—36 Eight. Helmeted and cuirassed bust l. with sceptre.
Rev. Winged figure l. with shield and spear :
 eagle at foot. Mint Marks, TR S (3), P LG (3),
 SIS (1).

URBS ROMA.

- 37—40. Four. Mint Marks, TR P, TR S, P LG.
 41—43. Three indecipherable : one with hippocamp re-
 verse : one EX S.C.

ONE HUNDRED AND NINE Æ3

**Part of a hoard of 400, found at Maesmor, Corwen. Donor:
Capt. R. Massie Taylor, 1899**

(Details of find given in letter in cabinet).

- 1 of Theodora, w. of Constantius Chlorus.
FL MAX THEODORA AVG. Bust r.
Rev. PIETAS ROMANA.
- 20 of Constantine I.
Rev. All GLORIA EXERCITVS, except one SOLI INVICTO COMITI.
- 17 of Constantine II.
- 7 of Constans.
Rev. One VICTORIAE DD AVGG NN.
- 9 of Constantius II.
Rev. One VICTORIAE DD AVGG NN.
- 18 of Constantinopolis.
- 22 of Urbs Roma.
- 11 indecipherable.
- 46 Treves, 9 Lyons, 1 Siscia, 1 CONOB (?). In the remainder the Mint Mark is indecipherable.

CASE WITH FRAGMENTS OF OLLA AND ABOUT FORTY Æ3

Found in Bridge Street, given by the late Duke of Westminster

(Three can be identified, the remainder are hopelessly corroded).

- 1 of Victorinus. 265—268.
- 1 of Constantine period. circ. 300—350.
- 1 of Magnentius. 350—353.

THREE Æ2

**Given by Mr. Wostenholme, grandson of Rev. Thomas Bancroft
(Head Master of the King's School at end of XVIIIth Cent.)
in whose collection they were**

- 1 Æ2. Vespasian (or Titus). Bust r.
Rev. Indecipherable.

2 Æ2. Trajan.

IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG CENS. Laureate bust r.

Rev. TR POT COS III PP. S.C. Winged Victory standing l. bearing shield on which SPQR.

3 Æ2. Faustina (sen.).

DIVA FAVSTINA. Bust r.

Rev. AVGVSTA (?).

DENARIVS (Given by Mr. Walter Conway).

1 AR. Faustina (senr.) DIVA FAVSTINA. Head r.

Rev. AVGVSTA. Ceres standing l. at altar with patera.

TWO Æ3

Found in Churchyard of St. Mary-without-the-Walls, 1887.

1 Æ3. Constantine I. CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG. Diademed head r.

Rev. GLORIAE EXERCITVS. Two standards.

2 Æ3. Valens. D N VALENS P F AVG. Diademed head r.

Rev. . . . EXERCITVVM. Winged Victory advancing l. with wreath.

HOARD OF FORTY-THREE DENARII

Ranging from Vespasian (69-79) to Marcus Aurelius (161-180) found at Heron Bridge, Chester, in 1855. The Gift of W. Ayrton, Esq., F.R.M.S., 1917.

VESPASIAN. 69—79.

1 AR. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. PON MAX TR P COS VI. Female figure seated l. holding branch. C., 366

2 AR. As 1, but without CAESAR.

3 AR. As 1.

DOMITIAN. 81—96.

4 AR. IMP CAES DOMIT GERM P M TR P XII. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. IMP XXII COS XVI CENS P PP. Pallas helmeted standing l. with spear.

5 AR. As 4, but TR P XV. (A.D. 94).

Rev. As 4, but COS XVII. Pallas standing r. on prow or base, owl? at foot, hurling javelin and holding shield. C., 282

TRAJAN. 96—117.

- 6 AR. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM. Laureate bust to r.
Rev. P M TR P COS II PP. Peace standing l. with olive-branch and cornuc. C., 209
- 7 AR. As 6.
Rev. As 6, but COS III. Winged Victory advancing l. with wreath.
- 8 AR. As 6.
Rev. As 7. Winged Victory standing on prow to r. with wreath and palm.
- 9 AR. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS V PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Female figure standing l. with caduceus and cornuc.
- 10 AR. As 9.
Rev. As 9. Captive seated on ground to r. beneath a trophy.
- 11 AR. As 9, but ending at TR P.
Rev. COS V PP SPQR OPTIMO PRINC. Emperor standing l. with spear and Victory.
- 12 AR. As 11.
Rev. Legend as 11. Female figure standing l. with sceptre and flower: at her feet, a camel (?).
- 13 AR. As 11.
Rev. As 11. Equity standing l. with balance and cornuc.
- 14 AR. IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC. Laureate head to r.
Rev. P M TR P COS VI PP SPQR. Felicity standing l. with caduceus and cornuc. C., 278
- 15 AR. As 14.
Rev. As 14. Mars, nude, standing l. holding patera.
- 16 AR. As 14.
Rev. Legend as 14. Emperor, helmeted, standing r. with spear and sceptre.
- 17 AR. IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS VI PP. Laureate and draped to r.
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Mars advancing r. with spear and trophy. C., 372
- 18 AR. As 14, but add PARTHICO.
Rev. As 14, but PROVID across field. Providentia standing l. with spear: globe at feet.
- 19 AR. As 14.
Rev. As 18.

HADRIAN. 117—138.

- 20 AR. IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG. Laureate bust to r.
Rev. P M TR P COS III. Rome seated to l. with spear, holding a Victory. C., 1102
- 21 AR. As 20.
Rev. Legend as 20. Mars advancing l. with spear and trophy.
- 22 AR. As 21.
- 23 AR. IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIANO AVG DIVI TRA. Laureate bust to r.
Rev. PARTH F DIVI NER NEP P M TR P COS. In exergue IVSTITIA. Justice seated l. with patera and spear.
- 24 AR. HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP. Bare head to r.
Rev. AFRICA with headdress of elephant's trunk, lying on ground to l., holding scorpion and cornuc. : before her, basket full of ears of corn. C., 141

SABINA, wife of Hadrian (ob. circ. 136).

- 25 AR. SABINA AVGVSTA. Bust diademed to r., with queue.
Rev. CONCORDIA AVG. Concordia seated l. with patera and sceptre. C., 24

ANTONINUS PIUS. 138—161.

- 26 AR. IMP T AEL CAES HADR ANTONINVS. Bare head to r.
Rev. AVG PIVS P M TR P COS DES II. Pallas standing l. holding a Victory and placing l. hand on shield : spear rests on l. arm. C., 67
- 27 ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. TR POT COS IIII. In exergue LIB IIII. Liberalitas standing l. holding tessera and cornuc.
- 28 AR. IMP CAES T AEL HADR ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP. Laureate head to r.
Rev. TR POT XV COS IIII. In exergue PIETAS. Pietas standing r. above round altar, dragging victim (goat), and in l. hand holding basket of fruit. C., 617
- 29 AR. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TR P XI. Laureate head to r.
Rev. COS IIII. Abundance standing l. holding two ears of corn over modius filled with ears of corn and poppies : resting l. hand on anchor.

ANTONINUS PIUS. 138—161—*Continued.*

- 30 AR. As 29.
 31 AR. As 29.
 Rev. COS IIII. Salus standing l. feeding from
 patera a serpent twined round altar.
 32 AR. DIVVS ANTONINVS. Bare head to r.
 Rev. DIVO PIO. Ornamented square altar. (Struck
 after his death). C., 357
 33 AR. As 32.
 Rev. CONSECRATIO. Eagle on altar, looking l.
 C., 155

FAUSTINA (Sen.), wife of Ant. Pius (ob. 141).

- 34 AR. DIVA FAVSTINA. Bust diademed to r.
 Rev. AETERNITAS. Eternity veiled standing l.,
 holding in l. hand two ears of corn and raising
 veil: in r. hand globe.
 35 AR. As 34, but holds sceptre in l. hand, lifting r.
 hand. C., 26
 36 AR. As 34.
 Rev. AVGVSTA. Ceres veiled standing l. holding
 in r. hand two ears of corn, in l. hand long torch.
 C., 78
 37 AR. As 36.

MARCUS AURELIUS. 161—180.

- 38 AR. AVRELIVS CAES AVG PII F. Bare head to r.
 Rev. TR POT XIII COS II. Pallas advancing r. with
 spear and shield.
 39 AR. IMP M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG. Bare head to r.
 Rev. CONCORD AVG TR P XVI. In exergue COS III.
 Concord seated l. holding patera in r.: at back of
 seat, a cornuc. C., 35
 40 AR. As 39.
 41 AR. As 39.
 Rev. PROV DEOR TR P XVI COS III. Providence
 standing l. with globe and cornuc. C., 522

FAUSTINA (Jun.), wife of M. Aur. (ob. 175).

- 42 AR. FAVSTINA AVG PII AVG FIL. Bust to r. (hair in
 waves).
 Rev. CONCORDIA seated l. flower in r. hand, l.
 elbow leaning on cornuc., which rests on globe
 beneath seat. C., 54

FAUSTINIA (Jun.), wife of M. Aur. (ob. 175).—*cont.*

- 43 AR. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust to r. with hair waved.
Rev. FECVNDITAS standing r., sceptre in r. hand,
 child on l. arm. C., 99

N.B.—The original MS. list of 1855 has only one Vespasian, but includes a Nerva (CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM) now missing: it gives fifteen of Trajan and six of Hadrian (a VICTORIA AVG is missing), but only seven of Antoninus Pius, and three of Faustina (Sen.).

In the Volume of the *Journal* for 1887 (N.S., Vol. I.), pp. 91-97, Mr. W. T. Ready (late of the British Museum), gives a detailed description of this hoard. Four of the coins as described by him are missing from the existing collection:—

- (1) *Nerva*. IMP NERVA CAES AVG PM TR P COS PP. Laureate head to r.

Rev. CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM. Clasped hands.

C., 20

- (2) *Trajan*. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM. Laureate head to r.

Rev. PM TR P COS IIII PP. Hercules facing, with club and lion's skin. C., 234

- (3) *Hadrian*. HADRIANVS AVG COS III. Laureate head to r.

Rev. VICTORIA AVG. Nemesis walking to r., pulling her robe from the neck, and carrying laurel branch. C., 1455

- (4) *Marcus Aurelius*. M ANTONINVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX. Laureate head to r.

Rev. TR P XXII IMP IIII COS III. Equity standing to l., holding cornuc. and balance. C., 892

In their places are found the Coins numbered 2, 3, 31, and 34 in the list above—*i.e.*, two of Vespasian, one of Antoninus Pius, one of Faustina (sen.).

There is the following footnote to Mr. Ready's list:—

"These coins were found in a hoard, but whether in a vase or not there is no information, at the beginning of this (sixth) century, in or near Eccleston, not far from Chester. They were acquired by the late Mr. George Cuitt, the well-known Chester artist, and remained in his possession till his death, which occurred in Yorkshire. His kinsman, the late Mr. W. F. Ayrton, the first honorary secretary or this Society, made a special journey to Yorkshire to secure them as having been found near Chester, and they are now in the possession of his widow, Mrs. Ayrton, Abbot's Rock, Chester."

FOUR Æ1 AND Æ2

Found during the re-building of Messrs. Brown's premises in Eastgate Row, 1909-1914. Given by H. F. Brown, Esq., LL.B., 1917. (In Safe)

VESPASIAN. 69—79.

- 1 Æ1. [IMP CAES] VESPASIAN AVG PM [TR P] COS . . .
Laureate head of Emperor r.
Rev. [COS ITER TR POT]. Fortune seated l., holding caduceus and olive branch.
- 2 Æ2. IMP CAES VESP AVG PM TR P COS VI CENS II.
Laureate head of Emperor r.
Rev. FELICITAS PVBLICA. S.C. Felicity standing l., holding caduceus and cornuc.

NERVA. 96—98.

- 3 Æ2. IMP NERVA CAES AVG PM TR P COS III PP. Radiate head of Emperor r.
Rev. LIBERTAS PVBLICA. S.C. Liberty standing l.

TRAJAN. 98—117.

- 4 Æ2. [IMP CAES NERVAE] TRAIANO AVG GER [DAQ PARTHICO PM TR P COS]. Radiate head of Emperor r.
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. In exergue s.c. Emperor on horseback trampling on fallen foe.





ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, 1920-21.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council begs to submit its Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1920.

Sessional Meetings have been held, at which the following were read :—

20th January, 1920—

Mr. Philip H. Lawson.—“ Family Memoranda of Thomas Stanley, of Alderley ” (? c. 1600).

Mr. R. H. Linaker.—“ Some notes on the life of George Clarke, once Lieutenant-Governor of New York ” (buried in Chester Cathedral).

*17th February, 1920—*Mr. Philip H. Lawson.—

“ The Commonplace Book of John Crewe of Utkinton (c. 1640—1650). ”

27th May, 1920—(At the Annual Meeting)—Rev. R. A. Thomas—

“ The Chester High Cross. ”

*16th November, 1920—*Mr. J. H. E. Bennett—

“ The Grey Friars of Chester ” (Part I.).

*30th November, 1920—*Rev. James Johnston, F.R.Hist.S.—

“ George Marsh, the Martyr—Historical Study in the 16th Century. ”

*14th December, 1920—*Mr. J. H. E. Bennett—

“ The Grey Friars of Chester ” (Part II.).

A Summer Excursion was also organised for 21st July, 1920, when over 50 Members and friends visited Tarvin Church, Frodsham Church, Norton Priory, Halton Castle, and the Chesshyre Library at Halton. At each of these

places, the party were fortunate in having an interesting account of the most noteworthy features. In spite of adverse weather the excursion was most successful and much enjoyed.

The Council desire to express warm thanks to the donors of various objects of interest during the year.

The Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts annexed shows a balance in hand of £124 17s. 6d.

The Reports of the Hon. Curator, the Hon. Librarian, and the Hon. Secretary, will be submitted to the General Meeting.

Under Rule 4, the following Members of the Council retire, but are eligible for re-election :—Mr. Bell Jones, Mr. P. H. Lawson, A.R.I.B.A., Mr. C. H. Minshull, the Rev. Canon Nairne, D.D., and Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine, F.S.A.

The Council regret that Professor R. Bosanquet, M.A., F.S.A., has left this part of the country and, being no longer able to keep in touch with the Society, has felt compelled to resign his membership of the Council.

The Hon. Auditors, Mr. W. Conway and Mr. F. Skipwith, J.P., also retire, but they are eligible for re-election.

The last Annual Report gave indications of the ambitions of the Council in regard to the re-erection of the old High Cross, and the printing of the City Records, and of the close attention which the Council gave to these matters during the year now in review. For the present it is impracticable to attempt to restore and set up the High Cross. The Council have invited a very competent Historical Committee to advise them as to the printing of the City Records. This Committee has been delayed to some extent in this work by reason of the Council's request that they should in the first instance examine the Earwaker Collection in the Society's Library and make recommendations regarding the cataloguing and general care of them.

A very valuable report has been submitted to the Council by A. G. K. Hayter, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., on the Roman

Potters' Marks to be found in the Society's collection of Samian and other ware. The Council hope to print this list, as also the Catalogue of the Society's Coins made by the Rev. J. T. Davies, M.A., in the near future.

Considerable interest was aroused in the autumn by the excavations made in the Linen Hall in the course of some building alterations. Some beautiful encaustic tiles were found marking the site of a mediæval floor in the house of the Grey Friars. This discovery synchronised very happily with the reading of an exhaustive paper in three parts on the "History of the Grey Friars of Chester" by Mr. J. H. E. Bennett. This paper was the first serious attempt made to co-ordinate the historical material obtainable in regard to this house.

The Executors of the late Rev. Canon Rupert H. Morris, D.D., F.S.A., were so public-spirited and obliging as to send all his papers to the Hon. Secretary in order that the Society might examine them. In particular the Council wished to verify the impression already existing that Canon Morris had left in MS. a continuation of his "Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods." At present the Council is able to inform the Society that a History of the Siege of Chester, practically ready for the printer, has been found among the papers. The course of procedure has not yet been determined upon, but the Council hope to be able to report later that the printing of this MS. has been definitely undertaken. Such a step is at the least due on the part of the Society to the memory of one who was Hon. Editorial Secretary of the Society for some years, and who was the centre and potent stimulus of archæological research in respect of Chester and Wales. Owing to the warm co-operation of the Rev. N. K. Gaskell, one of Canon Morris's Executors, several parish registers and churchwardens' books belonging to the parishes of St. Mary-without-the-Walls, and St. Michael, Chester, which had been borrowed by Canon Morris and lost sight of, were restored to the respective parishes.

THE CHESTER AND NORTH WALES ARCHITECTURAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the period 1st January to 31st December, 1920.

RECEIPTS.		£ s. d.	PAYMENTS.		£ s. d.
To	Balance in hand from last Account	... ..	By	Fire Insurance	... ..
		118 4 5			1 0
"	Subscriptions ... ..	... ..	"	One Years Rent to 25th December, 1920	... ..
		76 2 6			40 0 00
"	Dividend on London and North-Western Railway Consolidated 4% Guaranteed Stock, £297	... ..	"	Subscriptions to Kindred Societies	... ..
		4 3 1	"	Printing, Stationery, and Postages	... ..
"	Interest on East Indian Railway 4½% Debenture Stock 1935/55	... ..	"	Miscellaneous ..	... ..
		3 3 0	"	Balance in hand	... ..
"	Chester Corporation — Admission Fees for the Year ended 25th March, 1920...	... ..			124 17 6
		19 16 9			
"	Donation from J. P. Rylands, Esq.	... ..		
		1 1 0			
"	Profit on Summer Excursion, 1920	... ..		
		2 10 0			
"	Entrance Fees to Lecture ... ..	... ..		
		0 2 0			
		<u>£225 2 9</u>			<u>£225 2 9</u>

We have examined the foregoing Statement of Receipts and Payments, with the Vouchers, and find it correctly recorded.

15th NOVEMBER, 1921.

FRANCIS SKIPWITH,
WALTER CONWAY,

THE CHESTER AND NORTH WALES ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.

Statement of Accounts from 1st January, 1921, to 31st December, 1921.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand from last Account	124	17	6
„ Subscriptions—Arrears.....	8	8	0
For 1921	82	19	0
„ Dividend on London and North-Western Railway Consolidated 4% Guaranteed Stock £297.....	91	7	0
„ Interest on East Indian Railway 4½% Debenture Stock, 1935-55	8	6	2
„ Chester Corporation (Admission Fees for Year ended 25th March, 1921).....	1	11	6
„ Donation from J. P. Rylands, Esq.	24	6	3
„ Sale of Journals	1	1	0
	12	7	9
	263	17	2
Less taken in 1920, J. P. R.	1	1	0
	£262	16	2

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.
By Fire Insurance	0	5	0
„ One Year's Rent to 25th Dec., 1921	40	0	0
„ Subscriptions to Kindred Societies	6	2	8
„ Printing, Stationery, and Postages	69	2	9
„ Miscellaneous	0	14	0
„ Balance in hand	146	11	9

We have examined the foregoing Statement of Receipts and Payments with the Vouchers and find it correctly recorded.

(Signed) WALTER CONWAY, F.C.A.,
FRANCIS SKIPWITH, } Hon. Auditors.

£262 16 2

RULES OF THE CHESTER AND NORTH WALES ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.

TITLE.

1.—The Society shall be called “THE CHESTER AND NORTH WALES ARCHITECTURAL, ARCHÆOLOGICAL, AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.”

PURPOSES.

2.—The Objects of the Society shall be :—

- (a) The Collection and Publication of Architectural, Archæological, and Historic information relating to Chester, Cheshire, and North Wales.
- (b) The collection and preservation in a Museum of the Remains of Antiquity and other objects of interest found in Chester, Cheshire, and North Wales.

CONSTITUTION.

3.—The Society shall consist of Life, Ordinary, and Honorary Members.

Life Members.—Donors of ten guineas and upwards shall be members for Life, and shall have all the privileges of Ordinary Members.

Ordinary Members shall consist of all subscribers of ten shilling and sixpence per annum. They shall have the right of attendance at all Lectures, Exhibitions, and Ordinary Meetings, and shall also have the use of the Library and access to the Museum, and be entitled to copies of the Society's Journal as published.

Honorary Members shall be chosen by the Council.

The financial year of the Society shall run from the 1st January to the 31st December, and all subscriptions shall become due and payable in advance on the 1st day of January in each year.

No volume of the Society's Journal can be delivered to any Member whose subscription is in arrear.

MANAGEMENT.

4.—The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, to consist of the following persons :—The Patron, the President (who shall be the Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of the Diocese of Chester for the time being), and at least eight Vice-Presidents (of whom the Right Worshipful The Mayor of Chester, the Very Reverend The Dean of Chester, the Venerable The Archdeacon of Chester, and the Worshipful The Sheriff of the City of Chester shall be Vice-Presidents *ex-officio*), and the Officers of the Society, annually elected by the Council, viz., the Hon. Editorial Secretary, the Hon. Treasurer, the Hon. Curator, the Hon. Librarian, and the Hon. Secretary (or Secretaries). To these shall be added twelve Members to be elected by the Society at the Annual Meeting, four of whom shall retire yearly in rotation, but shall be eligible for re-election.

Five Members of the Council shall form a quorum. Any intermediate vacancy in the Council may be filled by the Council. Any elected Member of the Council failing to attend Council Meetings for twelve months shall vacate his seat.

SUB-COMMITTEES AND SECTIONAL COMMITTEES.

5.—The Council may appoint Sub-Committees for special purposes, who shall act under the control and supervision of the Council. They may also from time to time appoint Sectional Committees, consisting of members of their own body and of such other members of the Society as they may think able, from their special knowledge, to afford aid in such subjects as the following :—

- (a) Ancient Monuments and Architecture.
- (b) Ancient Manners, Customs, Trade, and Commerce.
- (c) Local History, Genealogy, and Records.

The Council may appoint a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Secretary for each Sectional Committee, and shall

have full power to re-construct or fill up vacancies in each such Committee. The Council may also appoint Honorary Local Secretaries for the town or district wherein they reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest.

ALTERATION OF RULES.

6.—If any member shall be desirous of altering any Rule, he shall propose such alteration, in writing, to the Hon. Secretary, who shall submit it to the Council at their next General Meeting, but before any Rule shall be altered by the Council notice thereof must be given at a previous meeting.

MEETINGS.

7.—The annual General Meeting of the Society (of which not less than fourteen days' notice shall be given) shall be held in the month of February. Ordinary meetings shall be held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, at eight p.m., as far as possible on the third Tuesday in each month during the session, for the reading of papers, the exhibition of objects of antiquarian interest, and the discussion of subjects connected therewith. Council Meetings shall be held whenever requisite. A special General Meeting may be called (of which not less than fourteen days' notice shall be given, stating the objects of the meeting) on a written requisition to the Hon. Secretary, signed by not less than ten members. The Council may, from time to time, convene General Meetings at different places rendered interesting by their Antiquities, Architecture, or Historic Associations.

NOMINATION OF AUDITORS AND COUNCIL.

8.—Nominations of Auditors and for the Council shall be sent in writing to the Hon. Secretary six days before the Annual Meeting, and, in case of a contest, election shall be by ballot.

PAPERS PUBLISHED IN JOURNAL.

9.—When the Council shall consider it desirable that any Paper, read at a meeting of the Society, should be printed in the Journal, they shall request the writer to submit the manuscript to the Hon. Editorial Secretary for that purpose. The writer of any paper printed in the Journal shall receive twenty copies of his own paper gratis.

TRUSTEES.

10.—The Property of the Society shall be vested in the names of three Trustees, to be chosen by the Council.

11.—All Antiquities, Books, Prints, etc., belonging to the Society, shall be preserved for the use of the members at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, and in such rooms and custody as shall be appointed by the Council.

12.—All orders for payment, etc., shall be made by the Council and signed by the Chairman. All cheques shall be drawn and signed by the Hon. Treasurer. The Accounts shall be audited by two members of the Society appointed at the Annual Meeting.

ADMISSION OF MEMBERS.

13.—Candidates for admission to the Society may be elected at any Meeting of the Society or the Council, being first duly proposed and seconded by members of the Society.

LIBRARY RULES.

14.—Any Member desiring to take books away may borrow such books (except those on the "Restricted List") to the number of three at any time on application to the Hon. Librarian. Books may be borrowed for a period not exceeding twenty-one days, and borrowers will be held responsible for any loss or damage done to books whilst in their possession. In case of loss of, or damage to, books whilst in the possession of borrowers, the assessment of the amount of such damage by the Council shall be final.

15.—The Hon. Librarian acting on instructions from the Chairman of the Council or Hon. Secretary (or Secretaries) of the Society, may request the immediate return of any book on loan.

16.—Books on the "Restricted List" are not to be taken out of the Library, except by special permission of a majority of the Council granted to Members of the Society only at a properly convened Meeting, on the written application of the Member desiring to borrow, the authority to be signed by the Chairman of the Meeting.

17.—In exceptional circumstances the Chairman of the Council (or in his absence from Chester, two Members of the Council) may permit a non-member to consult books by written authority to the Hon. Librarian, any such permission granted and the use made thereof to be reported by the Hon. Librarian at the ensuing Meeting of the Council. No non-member shall be permitted to borrow books from the Library.

18.—All persons using the Library must themselves register their names and the books or manuscripts consulted in the book provided for the purpose, and must return all books to the Hon. Librarian before leaving the Library.

19.—Books may be consulted by Members on any week-day between the hours of 9-30 a.m. and 4-30 p.m., and also from 6-30 p.m. till closing on any evening when the building is open, and the Library is not occupied for any authorised purpose.





LIST OF MEMBERS, 1920-21

Acton, T. Arthur, F.S.A., 43, Regent Street, Wrexham

Aldersey, Hugh, J.P., Aldersey Hall, Chester

"Antiquary," The Editor of, 62, Paternoster Row, London
(*honorary member*)

Ashbrook, Mrs., Wincham Hall, Lostock Gralam

Ashforth, Mr. G. E., 8, Ash Grove, Chester

Ashforth, Mrs. G. E., 8, Ash Grove, Chester

Ayrton, Alfred, Ashfield, Wrexham Road, Chester

Ayrton, Maxwell, 9, Church Row, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

Bairstow, John, F.C.S., J.P., Burley, Queen's Park, Chester

Barbour, Major Robert, Bolesworth Castle, near Chester

Barnston, The Right Hon. Harry, J.P., M.P., Crewe Hill, Farndon

Baty, C. W., Bryntirion, Chichester Street, Chester

Baxter, Rev. A., Green Bank, Parkgate Road, Chester

Bennett, F. L. M., Abbey Square, Chester

Bennett, J. H. E., F.S.A., 66, Cambrian Crescent, Chester

Benson, E. F., 102, Oakley Street, Chelsea (*honorary member*)

Beswick, H., Newgate Street, Chester

Bithell, Walter, Bickley Wood, Malpas, Chester

Bonnalie, Col. F. J., Abbey Square, Chester

Boscawen, Mrs. Lilian, Trevalyn Hall, Rossett, near Wrexham

Bridge, Prof. J. C., M.A., D.Mus., F.S.A., 11, Abbey Square, Chester

Brown, W. E., 33, Parkgate Road, Chester

Brown, Mrs. W. E., 33, Parkgate Road, Chester

Brown, H. F., LL.B., J.P., 18, Curzon Park, Chester

Brown, Mrs. L. P., M.A., J.P., 18, Curzon Park, Chester

Brown, Lieut-Col. W. Ernest, D.S.O., M.C., Brantwood, Dee Banks,
[Chester]

Burman, Rev. J. B., The Manse, Hawarden

Chambers, The Very Rev. Canon, St. Werburgh's Presbytery, Chester

Chester, The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of, Bishop's House,
Chester

Chester, The Very Rev. The Dean of, The Deanery, Chester

Chester, The Right Worshipful The Mayor of, Town Hall, Chester

Chester, The Sheriff of, Town Hall, Chester
 Chidley, T., 14, St. Werburgh Street, Chester
 Clare, Thomas, 5, Highlands Road, Runcorn
 Clark, E. S., Llay Cottage, Gresford, Wrexham
 Clark, Major H. D., 4, Curzon Park, Chester
 Clay, Miss B. E., B.A., Queen's School, Chester
 Compton, T., Bolton Cottage, Longhope, Glos. (*honorary member*)
 Conway, Walter, 18, Sunny Bank, Queen's Park, Chester
 Cooke, J. H., Solicitor, Winsford
 Cox, Ven. Archdeacon W. L. Paige, 5, Abbey Street, Chester
 Crane, H. E., Savings Bank, Grosvenor Road, Chester
 Crossley, F. H., F.S.A., 19, Shavington Avenue, Newton, Chester
 Cullimore, John, J.P., The Friars, Chester
 Cullimore, W., Copslea, Dee Banks, Chester

Davies, H. F., A.R.I.B.A., 32, Grange Road, Brook Lane, Chester
 Davies, Fred, Architect, 14, Newgate Street, Chester
 Davies, Rev. J. T., M.A., 6, Abbey Green, Chester
 Davies, J. Gifford, Brook House, Main Street, Frodsham
 Davies, Samuel, 6, Alvanley Terrace, Frodsham
 Dempster, Robert, Vale Royal, Cheshire
 Dickinson, D., 16, Spring Gardens, Newton, Chester
 Dickson, J. H., Westminster Park, Chester
 Dixon, Sir George, J.P., Astle Hall, Chelford, Cheshire
 Dodd, John, Corn Exchange Chambers, Chester
 Dutton, A. E., 51, Frodsham Street, Chester
 Dutton, H. B., 27, Curzon Park, Chester
 Dutton, Hugh T., M.A., 27, Curzon Park, Chester
 Dutton, Geo. Henry, 30, Frodsham Street, Chester

Eck, Canon H. V. S., 4, Abbey Square, Chester
 Edwards, Peter, Dodleston, near Chester
 Elphick, G. Pelham, Brook Lodge, Brook Lane, Chester
 Evans, G. H., 5, Lumley Road, Chester

Farmer, R., 67, Liverpool Road, Chester
 Farrall, Rev. L. M., M.A., Abbot's Grange, Chester
 Ffoulkes Canon P. J. B., The Deanery Cottage, Chester.
 Fleming, T. R., Rowton Grange, Chester
 Fleming, Mrs., Rowton Grange, Chester
 Frost, Sir J. M., J.P., Upton Lawn, Chester

Gaddum, H. E., The Priory, Bowdon
 Gamon, Gilbert P., 52, Grafton Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W.
 Gamon, J. Percival, 2, White Friars, Chester

Gardner, E., Northgate Street, Chester
 Giles, Miss Hilda M., 8, Abbey Square, Chester
 Gladstone, H. N., J.P., Hawarden Castle, Chester
 Golder, J. T., The Birches, Westminster Avenue, Chester
 Grantham, Rev. Henry, Dee Hills Park, Chester
 Grayson, Hastwell, Newton Green, Chester

Hanmer, Mrs., 15, Pepper Street, Chester.
 Harding, Paxton, Bank House, White Friars, Chester
 Haswell, Cyril W., "Highfield," Queen's Park, Chester
 Haswell, G. W., F.S.A., 52, Bouverie Street, Chester
 Haswell, Frank T., 4, Margravine Gardens, Baron's Court, London.
 [W.6.]

Hewitt, Alderman D. L. Rose Acre, Hough Green, Chester
 Hobday, W. E., 38, Liverpool Road, Chester
 Holland, W., 10, St. John's Road, Queen's Park, Chester
 Hughes, David, Solicitor, Old Bank Buildings, Chester
 Hughes, J. T., 11, Abbey Street, Chester
 Hughes, T. Cann, M.A., F.S.A., 78, Church Street, Lancaster
 Humphreys, W. H., M.A., LL.B., 5, Hamilton Street, Hoole, Chester
 Hutchings, W. N., "Glan-yr-Afon," Mold
 Illingworth, F.H., J.P., Hampton Lodge, 12, Liverpool Road, Chester

Ingham, Alfred, F.R.Hist.S., One Ash, Brooklands, Cheshire
 Irvine, W. Fergusson, M.A., F.S.A., 56, Park Road South, Birkenhead
(honorary member)

Jenner, H. A., 11, White Friars, Chester
 Johnson, T. C., Eastgate Row, Chester
 Jones, E. Peter, J.P., Greenbank, Eaton Road, Chester
 Jones, Harry, 47, St. Werburgh Street, Chester
 Jones, Henry, 96, Watergate Flags, Chester
 Jones, Sir E. D., Bart., 6, Addison Road, Kensington, London, W.
 Jones, W. Bell, F.S.A., Post Office, Hawarden, Flint.
 Jones, D. B., "Avoca," Garden Lane, Chester
 Jones, T. E., The Grammar School, Wallasey

Kelsey, Charles E., Hulme Grammar School, Alexandra Park,
 [Manchester]
 Kynnersley, E. M. Sneyd, J.P., Boughton Lodge, Chester

Lawson, P. H., St. Eilian, Newton, Chester
 Lee, J. E. Billups, Hoole Bank, Chester
 Leigh, Egerton T., 27, Barton Arcade Chambers, Manchester
 Leverhulme, Lord, The Hill, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

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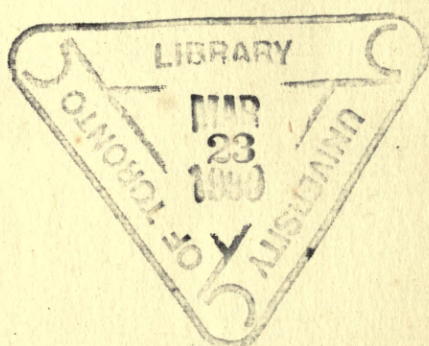
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